

# THE ART BULLETIN

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DECEMBER 1931  
VOLUME XXIII  
NUMBER FOUR





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# THE DEATH OF EPHRAIM IN BYZANTINE AND EARLY ITALIAN PAINTING

JOHN R. MARTIN

A PAINTING long known in the history of art is the panel in the Vatican Gallery representing the Dormition of Ephraim Syrus (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Once believed to be as early as the tenth century, its proper date was first established by Muñoz, who noted that Emmanuele Tzanzournari, by whom the work is signed, was a Greco-Italian painter active in Venice in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The picture shows the dead saint lying on a bier in the foreground, and a throng of bishops and monks gathered about him. On his breast lies an icon of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, a motif which, although it found great favor in the art of western Europe, is yet of Byzantine origin.<sup>3</sup> From the sides and rear other monks approach, one leading a lion on which an older brother is seated, one riding upon an ass, some borne by younger brethren, and still others on crutches. In the background a stylite is seen atop his column, lowering a basket to be filled with provisions by a disciple below. Near by stands an angel striking the *semantron*, the customary call to service in monastic communities. In the right foreground a monk stares in amazement at an open sarcophagus containing a skeleton. The rocky hills on either side are pierced with caves in which anchorites pray, converse, or devote themselves to manual labor. At the very top an angel bears aloft the soul of Ephraim, which is represented in traditional fashion as a diminutive human figure. There are two inscriptions: one on the gold background above the stylite gives the title of the scene,<sup>4</sup> and the other, on the saint's bed, is the artist's signature.<sup>5</sup>

The composition is known in other copies, all of about the same date, which exhibit only minor variations in detail. Panels representing the Death of Ephraim are preserved in the collection of R. Henniker-Heaton (Fig. 3),<sup>6</sup> in the collection of Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill,<sup>7</sup> and in the church of the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul.<sup>8</sup> The same subject appears in two frescoes on Mount Athos, one in the church of Dochiariu (Fig. 2),<sup>9</sup> and the other in the refectory of Dionysiu.<sup>10</sup> There is a third wall-painting of essentially the same character in the refectory of the Laura on Athos (Fig. 4),<sup>11</sup> representing the Death of Athanasius. Finally, the Byzantine Museum in Athens contains a similar panel of the Death of Onuphrius.<sup>12</sup>

Additional evidence of the popularity of the scene is provided by a Greek literary description, or *ἐκφρασις*, of a painting of the Death of Ephraim, written in the fifteenth century, probably by

1. G. Bottari, *Roma sotterranea. Sculture e pitture sagre estratte da i cimiteri di Roma*, III, Rome, 1754, pp. 219ff., frontispiece. J. B. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens*, Paris, 1823, II, pp. 87ff.; III, p. 111; V, pl. LXXXIII. W. Kallab, "Die toscanische Landschaftsmalerei im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXI, 1900, pp. 22, 47, pl. VI. A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1928, p. 9, pl. 1.

2. A. Muñoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata*, Rome, 1906, pp. 34ff.

3. cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 483ff.

4. Ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐφραίμ Σύρου κοίμησις.

5. Ἐμμανουήλου τοῦ Τζανφουνάρι χειρ.

6. G. Achenbach, "An Early Italian Tabernacle," *Gazette*

*des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXVI, 1944, p. 136, fig. 11. The fragmentary inscription along the top reads: [ἡ κοίμησις] τοῦ Εὐφρέμ Σίρου.

7. D. Talbot Rice, "Some Schools of Greek Icon Painting," *Apollon*, XVII, 1933, pp. 190f., fig. v. *Idem*, "The Greek Exhibition at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1946, p. 89, pl. D.

8. G. A. Sotiriou, *Καμῆλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, Athens, 1937, pp. 31ff., pl. 21.

9. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures*, Paris, 1927, pls. 252-253.

10. *ibid.*, pl. 207, no. 1.

11. *ibid.*, pl. 150, no. 2.

12. G. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes*, Athens, 1932, pp. 87f., no. 117. The work is known to me only from the description of Sotiriou.

John Eugenicus.<sup>13</sup> The author, following the pattern of ancient writings such as the *Images* of Philostratus, naïvely describes the scene in all its details, so as to make it quite clear that he had before him a picture like those named above. The iconography of the Death of Ephraim is thus seen to have been firmly fixed in late Byzantine art.

This being so, it is not surprising to find the scene reflected in Italian painting. The earliest example known to me is a tabernacle in the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres,<sup>14</sup> the central panel of which (Fig. 5) is a free copy of the Ephraim composition, with monks clustered about a dead saint and others in cells and caves or approaching the funeral. Even the stylite appears on his column, which is here provided with a covered shelter. The number of hermits has been considerably increased, and certain episodes are introduced which have no parallel in the Greek paintings (e.g. the monk fishing near the lower right corner); but that the scene as a whole is derived from the Death of Ephraim there can be no doubt. The tabernacle is of Tuscan origin, and has been dated by Achenbach in the late thirteenth century,<sup>15</sup> which is important in that it establishes a much earlier date for the composition than the extant Byzantine copies themselves would indicate.

Ephraim Syrus, born early in the fourth century at Nisibis, is remembered chiefly for his extensive literary production—sermons, hymns, and exegetical writings—and his theological knowledge. The last years of his life were spent at Edessa, where he is represented both as a hermit leading an ascetic existence and as a deacon preaching against heresies. He died in A.D. 373. The known Greek narratives of his life<sup>16</sup> do not, however, suffice to explain the many incidents shown in the paintings under discussion, and in particular lay no special emphasis on his death. It is entirely in agreement with these reticent statements that the Dormition of Ephraim as represented in the Vatican Menologium of Basil II,<sup>17</sup> of about the year 1000, merely shows the saint on his death-bed with his fellow-monks mourning over him—the usual rendering of the passing of an ascetic. It is therefore all the more puzzling that the later paintings of this event should exhibit a complex iconography for which there is no motivation in the accounts of Ephraim's career, but which, on the other hand, can hardly be dismissed as a purely artistic fiction without textual foundation.

Another source remains to be considered, however, which may shed some light on the problem. This is the Syriac *Acts of Ephraim*, which devote more space to the circumstances of the saint's passing than the Greek narratives. The Syriac text concludes with the following passage:

"When St. Ephraim felt his last day draw nigh . . . he wrote a testament to his disciples. Meanwhile, when the blessed man's illness was heard of, a great agitation occurred in the souls of men of every rank, who grieved for the most holy father. Then came a huge throng to see him. And when he had blessed all and adjured them that his body might be buried in the public cemetery of the strangers, he gave up his soul to his Creator. With hymns and psalms of the Holy Spirit, his body was borne to the tomb, with angels and watchers, bishops, priests and deacons, and the entire clergy and people in attendance. There also assembled at the funeral the praiseworthy company and blessed band of anchorites, stylites, and cenobites, by whom the body of Ephraim was buried with ceremony and honor in the cemetery of the saints, even as the servant of God himself had commanded. But after some space of time his body was again brought forth and buried under his

13. C. L. Kayser (ed.), *Philostrati libri de gymnastica. Accedunt Marci Eugenici imagines et epistolae nondum editae*, Heidelberg, 1840, pp. 142-154. On the attribution of the *ἐκφράσεις* to John rather than to Marcus Eugenicus, see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1897, pp. 495ff. The relationship between the text and the paintings was pointed out by A. Muñoz, "Le *ἐκφράσεις* nella letteratura bizantina e i loro rapporti con l'arte figurata," *Receuil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov*, Prague, 1926, pp. 139ff.

14. Achenbach, "An Early Italian Tabernacle," pp. 129ff. E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, p. 133, no. 351. I am indebted to Mrs. Coor-Achenbach for the photograph here reproduced.

15. Achenbach, *op.cit.*, pp. 148ff.

16. e.g. Migne, *P.G.*, CXIV, cols. 1253-1268; J. S. Assemani, *S. Ephraem Syri opera omnia, graece-latine*, 1, Rome, 1732, pp. XXIX-XXXIII.

17. *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, III), Turin, 1907, pl. 354.



church, at which time there issued from his bones a most sweet fragrance of life, bestowing health and cheer upon all."<sup>18</sup>

This text provides at least a partial explanation of the Ephraim paintings. The mourners clustered about the saint include both bishops and monks, one of whom wears the anchorite's garment of woven straw, and the mention of stylites is echoed by the column-dweller seen above.<sup>19</sup> The monks are described as assembling: the scene therefore shows a man striking the *semantron*—the long wooden sounding-board—to summon them to the obsequies (the Vatican panel is unique in making this figure an angel). The brethren, many of whom are old and feeble, approach from all directions. A feature of the Spencer-Churchill and Vatican icons (Fig. 1) is the monk before the open sarcophagus, which seems clearly to illustrate the miracle of the saint's bones. Curiously enough, this detail is lacking in all other paintings, including that described by John Eugenicus.

It is thus hardly open to doubt that the scene is an illustration of the dormition of Ephraim as recounted in the Syriac *Acts*. This narrative must have been known in Greek, either in a translation, or perhaps in an independent account embodying a similar description of the saint's passing. But however aptly the Syriac text explains the features of the composition in general, it must be admitted that it contains no record of the many other incidents depicted—notably the caverns and the hermits working and praying within them. These would seem by their very explicit character to demand a more precise textual motivation.

Several attempts have been made to account for the conspicuous lack of agreement between these details in the picture and the actual events of Ephraim's life. The most ingenious is the explanation offered by Wulff and Alpatoff, that the saint represented is one Ephraim the Stylite, a personage quite distinct from the great Church Father of the fourth century, and that the subsidiary episodes in the composition are scenes from his life.<sup>20</sup> This, it need hardly be observed, is not a feasible hypothesis. The title "Ephraim Syrus" can be understood only as designating the illustrious theologian. Moreover, no stylite saint bearing the name Ephraim is known to have existed,<sup>21</sup> and it is highly unlikely that an individual enjoying a merely local reputation would have been commemorated in so impressive and widespread a fashion. Equally improbable is the suggestion of Sotiriou, that the original picture represented, not Ephraim, but some now-forgotten hermit saint.<sup>22</sup> Although it is true that the same iconographic scheme is made to serve both for Athanasius (in the Laura Fresco) and for Onuphrius (in the panel of the Byzantine Museum in Athens), yet the fact is that all but one of the remaining Greek examples are specifically described as the Dormition of Ephraim.<sup>23</sup> Even the description of John Eugenicus is explicit on this point. And, as we have seen, the Syriac life serves to confirm the identification. In the fresco of the Laura (Fig. 4), it is not unnatural that Athanasius, the founder of that monastery, should be substituted for the Syrian saint. It is significant, moreover, that here alone the scene is made to take place not in the open countryside, but within the crenelated walls of the Laura itself, the domed catholicon being visible in the rear. This deliberate alteration in setting must have been made to distinguish the painting from the familiar Death of Ephraim, of which the Laura fresco can only be an adaptation.

Since the original picture must, then, have been designed to represent the Death of Ephraim Syrus, there remains the possibility that to this central subject the artist added numerous scenes of eremitical life drawn from another source altogether. We have observed that the Syriac text of the *Acts of Ephraim*, though it does not actually describe such scenes, at least makes their inclusion

18. Assemani, *S. Ephraem Syri opera omnia, syriace-latine*, III, Rome, 1743, pp. LXII-LXIII.

19. Stylites were in fact unknown in the time of Ephraim, who died in 373.

20. O. Wulff and M. Alpatoff, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei*, Dresden, 1925, pp. 232f., 292.

21. On the principal practitioners of stylitism, cf. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, Paris and Brussels, 1923.

22. Sotiriou, *Κεφάλαια τοῦ Οἰκουµενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, p. 32. Somewhat similar is the view taken by R. Byron and D. Talbot Rice, *The Birth of Western Painting*, New York, 1931, note to pl. 86.

23. The exception is the Spencer-Churchill icon, in which the blue sky painted over the original gold has obliterated the inscription (Rice, "Some Schools of Greek Icon Painting," p. 191).

appropriate by the very mention of "anchorites, stylites, and cenobites." Here we may be aided by a formal analysis of the picture itself. Considered compositionally, it does not reveal a coherent and organic unity, but rather resolves itself into a series of individual pictures which have been assembled in purely additive fashion. This is particularly evident in the caves rising in terraced sequence on either side (cf. Figs. 1 and 3), which clearly reflect a process of placing separate scenes one above another in order to create a landscape setting around the funeral of the saint. Each of these caverns, the occupants of which are engaged in various activities, must once have formed a complete picture in itself. Similarly, the figures not in caves are seen to consist of individual episodes—the stylite and his attendant, the monk with the *semantron*, and so forth. Each of these may likewise be imagined as having originated as a distinct pictorial entity.

That some of these little scenes enjoyed an independent existence apart from this context can indeed be established with certainty. It is a curious fact that isolated motifs from the Ephraim composition are to be found in mid-Byzantine manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus,<sup>24</sup> a monastic treatise on spiritual elevation. One of the most striking is that of the aged hermits who are too feeble to walk, one being borne on the back of a younger monk, and a second carried in a chair by two brethren; in the Vatican panel, which may be taken as typical, these figures appear at the lower right of the stylite's column (Fig. 1). Incidents almost precisely identical to these are represented in a miniature of a Climax manuscript in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 394 (Fig. 6).<sup>25</sup> It will be observed that the monk in the litter is crouched forward and that the leading bearer turns his head to the rear, exactly as in the Ephraim paintings. This same attitude, it may be noted, is preserved in the Crawford panel (Fig. 5), in which the group appears to the left of the stylite. Another distinctive motif is the monk carving wooden spoons, who is seen in the Vatican icon (Fig. 1), in the cave third from the top on the right side. This figure, distinguishable only with some difficulty, appears both in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 7, left) and also in another Climax manuscript in the Library of Princeton University (Fig. 8).<sup>26</sup> Common to all of these pictures, whether in the Death of Ephraim or in the manuscripts, are the cave within which the monk is seated and the peculiar adze-shaped implement which he holds.<sup>27</sup>

The Climax miniatures cannot be dismissed merely as fragments derived from the Death of Ephraim; instead they permit us to visualize the individual scenes of that composition in what must have been their original form. And since the Vatican and Princeton Climax manuscripts are both of the eleventh century, we are thus presented with a still earlier date of origin for the scenes of anchorites under discussion. But it is equally clear that the miniatures were not invented for the *Heavenly Ladder*, the text of which offers nothing to explain them in detail (there is, for example, no mention of spoon-carving); they have manifestly been appropriated from another source, as being typical illustrations of eremitical life. From this same source, moreover, must surely have been drawn the similar motifs in the Ephraim paintings. All these scenes are ultimately to be derived, we may further conjecture, from a cycle of book-illustrations of the life of hermits.

The miniature of the spoon-carver in the Princeton codex (Fig. 8) may help us to envisage the nature of these archetypal scenes more clearly. On either side of the central hill rise two tower-like edifices, of which other examples are found in this manuscript.<sup>28</sup> From the fact that monks' heads protrude from them their function becomes evident: they are the abode of hermits who have committed themselves to a life of seclusion within them, much as the stylites remained perpetually on their columns. The birds and animals seen in the foreground closely resemble those appearing in certain of the Ephraim paintings, notably those in the Henniker-Heaton and Crawford collections

24. Migne, P.G., LXXXVIII, cols. 632-1160.

25. For a general description of the miniatures of Vat. gr. 394, cf. N. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1886-91, II, pp. 130ff. The present writer plans to publish soon a study of all illustrated Climax manuscripts.

26. On this manuscript, see A. M. Friend, Jr., in *Princeton*

*University Library Chronicle*, III, 1941-42, pp. 133-135.

27. A tool still employed for this task on Mt. Athos. Cf. the illustration in Archimandrite Parthenios Iviritis, *Δεῦκωμα Ἀγίου Ὁρους Ἀθῶν*, 1928, II, *Μοναχοί*, pl. 20.

28. Fols. 140r and 173r.





1. Rome, Vatican Gallery. *Dormition of St. Ephraim*, by Emmanuele Tzanfournari. (Anderson)



2. Athos, Church of Dochiariu. *Dormition of St. Ephraim*.



3. London, Collection of R. Henniker-Heaton. *Dormition of St. Ephraim*.



4. Athos, Refectory of the Laura. *Dormition of St. Athanasius*.





5. London, Collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Tabernacle. Detail, central panel.



6. Rome, Vatican Library. Cod. gr. 394, fol. 41r.



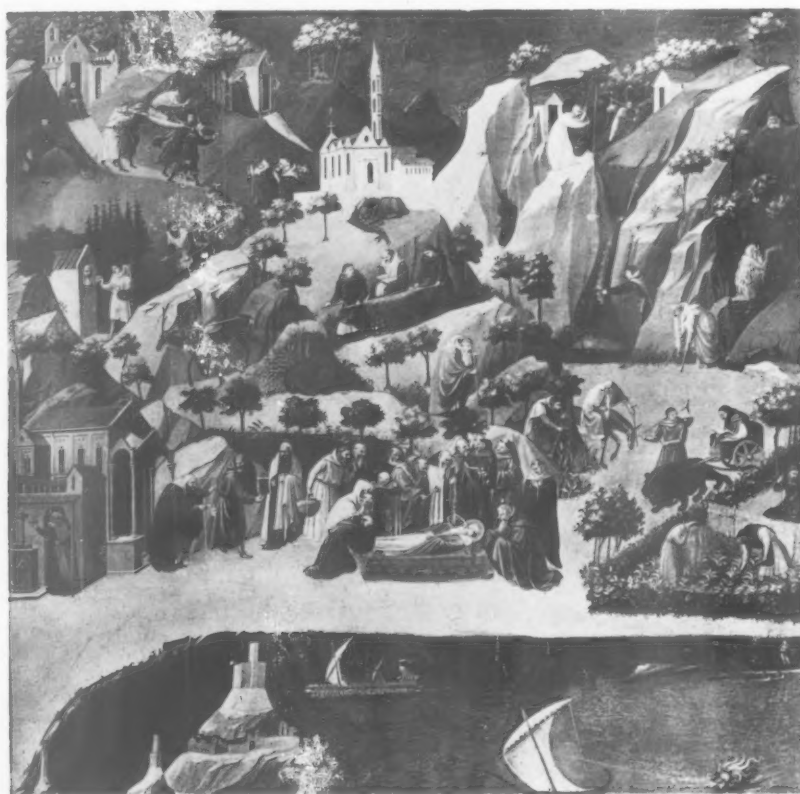
7. Rome, Vatican Library. Cod. gr. 394, fol. 95v.



8. Princeton University Library. Climax manuscript, fol. 169v.



9. Pisa, Camposanto. *Thebaid*. Detail. (Alinari)



10. Florence, Uffizi. *Thebaid*. Detail, left portion. (Anderson)

(Figs. 3 and 5). John Eugenicus, whose description of a similar painting there is no need to suspect of literary embellishment, enumerates hares, partridges, a gazelle, a fox, a parrot, a pheasant, a duck, and a swan.<sup>29</sup> It is entirely probable that such animals were present in the original cycle of hermit scenes drawn upon both by the miniaturist of the Climax manuscript and by the painter of the Death of Ephraim.

The identity of the text underlying this pictorial cycle it is perhaps impossible to discover. Numerous writings of this sort have come down to us, of which the best known are the following: the *Apophthegmata patrum*,<sup>30</sup> the *Lausiaca History* by Palladius,<sup>31</sup> and the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*,<sup>32</sup> to say nothing of the many Lives of desert Fathers, such as that of Anthony. That some of these writings had extensive pictorial cycles is not at all improbable: indeed it is evident that the *Apophthegmata*, in particular, were illustrated at least as early as the ninth century.<sup>33</sup> But none of these works, which are concerned almost exclusively with the deeds of Egyptian Fathers, can be considered relevant to our hermit scenes. The prevailing mode of monastic life in Egypt was one of contemplation and comparative restraint; few instances are recorded of extreme austerity, and such practices were even frowned upon. This is not the existence mirrored in the cycle of anchorite scenes, which bespeak a kind of monachism quite foreign to Egypt. The caves, the stone towers, and the stylite point to Syria and its adjacent regions. This conviction is strengthened by the association of these pictures with Ephraim, in the paintings of the death of that saint, who was himself a native of Syria. The literature of monasticism in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, is less voluminous than that of Egypt, but what there is tells of an institution characterized by strange and fanatical excesses of bodily mortification.<sup>34</sup> The hero of this philosophy is St. Simeon Stylites, whose superhuman feat in remaining for years on the top of a high pillar aroused the most intense admiration and inspired numerous imitators.

One text may be considered here as exemplifying the kind of narrative that is given pictorial form in the hermit scenes. This is the *Religiosa historia* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus,<sup>35</sup> written in the first half of the fifth century. Theodoret is concerned only with the monks of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. His work comprises thirty chapters, each one being a biography of a famous solitary; as a record of oriental monasticism it may be ranked with Palladius' account of the Egyptian Fathers. In one passage the author tells of the life led by the anchorites:

"Some cling to the solitary life and strive to talk with God alone; having no part of human comfort they thus win acclaim. Some sing praises to God while dwelling in shelters or huts. Others, again, prefer to live in caverns or caves. But many . . . have been persuaded to have neither shelter nor hut, but have submitted their bodies to the open air and endured the opposite qualities of nature, at one time freezing with utter cold, and at another burning with the fiery heat of the sun. But the life even of these is of various kinds. For some stand continually, whereas others apportion the day in sitting and standing. Some have shut themselves up in walled enclosures, renouncing association with mankind; but others use no such concealment, and are exposed to all who would behold them."<sup>36</sup>

In these words from the *Religiosa historia* we sense the same atmosphere of harsh asceticism that is conveyed by the scenes of hermits, so that at first glance it is tempting to conclude that it was this very text that they originally illustrated. In the description of individual anchorites the affinity between text and pictures occasionally becomes even more marked. Theodoret relates that many

29. Kayser (ed.), *Philostatei libri*, pp. 147f.

30. Migne, *P.G.*, LXV, cols. 72-440. *Idem*, *P.L.*, LXXIII, cols. 739-1062.

31. C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius* (Texts and Studies; Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, VI), two vols., Cambridge, 1898-1904.

32. Migne, *P.L.*, XXI, cols. 387-462.

33. J. R. Martin, "An Early Illustration of *The Sayings of the Fathers*," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXII, 1950, pp. 291-295.

34. On the distinction between Egyptian and oriental monasticism, cf. Butler, *The Lausiaca History*, I, pp. 239ff., and Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, pp. CLXXXVff.

35. Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXII, cols. 1284-1496.

36. *ibid.*, cols. 1484C-1485B.



hermits dwelt in caves. A certain Jacobus lived in the open air for most of the year, retiring to a cavern during the winter months.<sup>37</sup> Julianus inhabited a cave "not made by hands."<sup>38</sup> Macedonius Crithophagus—the barley-eater—lived in a deep pit for forty-five years.<sup>39</sup> Simeon the Elder (not the famous stylite) was another cave-dweller, whose power was such that he was obeyed by wild beasts,<sup>40</sup> a circumstance that recalls the animals seen in certain of the Ephraim paintings and in the Princeton miniature.

Theodoret's descriptions of dwellings other than caves are not easily visualized, but it seems clear that many were narrow, roofless enclosures with a window through which the occupant received food. Within this confined space the solitary had perforce to stand continually, a form of penitence believed to be particularly sanctifying. Of several such enclosures we are told that the walls were of stone.<sup>41</sup> Acepsimas secluded himself within a "little house" for sixty years, seeing and speaking to no one, and only stretching his hand through a narrow aperture to accept food.<sup>42</sup> Salamanes practiced an even more rigorous solitude in a dwelling without door or window, receiving sustenance once a year through a hole in the ground.<sup>43</sup> The importance of such descriptions is that they furnish an explanation of the curious stone structures seen in the Princeton Climax (Fig. 8).

The twenty-sixth chapter of the *Religiosa historia* is a biography of St. Simeon Stylites,<sup>44</sup> and indeed forms the earliest account of this first pillar-saint, with whom Theodoret was personally acquainted. A column-dweller is a prominent feature in the Ephraim paintings; this is all the more appropriate since the Syriac life states expressly that stylites attended the funeral.

Although it is quite possible that the *Religiosa historia* was illustrated,<sup>45</sup> we are, in the last analysis, not entitled to say conclusively that the scenes of hermits in the Ephraim composition were derived from this very source. Theodoret's text contains nothing to explain certain persistent and distinctive motifs, such as the spoon-carver, and the aged Fathers proceeding on crutches, on the backs of animals, or with the aid of younger monks. The text for which they were conceived may never be known. It is certain, however, that the genesis of all these scenes is not to be looked for in the literature of Egyptian monasticism, but in that which describes the anchorites of Syria and its neighboring regions. In its emphasis on the penitential spirit of the hermits, the *Religiosa historia* is at least typical of the kind of text for which these pictures were invented.

The Death of Ephraim is thus seen to be a combination of various pictorial elements. The core of the composition is the dormition of the saint, to which have been added scenes from an illustrated cycle of hermits dwelling in the same region, though not necessarily at the same time, as Ephraim himself. Certain of these scenes, which were doubtless invented as book-illustrations, can be traced back to the eleventh century in Vat. gr. 394 and the Princeton Climax manuscript. Whatever their ultimate source, it is evident that they have survived only as *dissecta membra*: the original cycle is lost to us. The fusion of these several elements by a Byzantine artist into a single composition called the Dormition of Ephraim can have occurred no later than (and probably not before) the thirteenth century, at which time it was freely copied in the Crawford tabernacle. It is entirely possible that the archetype of this unified composition was not an icon, but a fresco or mosaic.

The Italian scholar Giovanni Bottari, writing in the eighteenth century, was fully aware that the iconography of the Death of Ephraim must reflect specific textual sources. In an appendix to the

37. *ibid.*, col. 1293C.

39. *ibid.*, col. 1400D.

41. *ibid.*, cols. 1425C and 1453B.

42. *ibid.*, cols. 1413D-1416A.

43. *ibid.*, col. 1428C.

44. *ibid.*, cols. 1464D-1484C.

45. There exists no fully illustrated copy of any of Theodoret's works. But from the miniatures of Paris gr. 510 Weitzmann has adduced evidence to prove the existence of illustrations to the same author's *Ecclesiastical History* (K.

38. *ibid.*, col. 1305C-D.

40. *ibid.*, col. 1357C.

Weitzmann, "Illustrations for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, xvi, 1942-43, pp. 87ff.). Inasmuch as this work and the *Religiosa historia* were complementary, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that the latter was also illustrated. Theodoret himself is portrayed, together with John Chrysostom and Oecumenius, in a miniature of Paris gr. 224, which contains the commentaries of these three writers on the Epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1929, pl. CI, no. 2).



third volume of his edition of *Roma sotterranea*,<sup>46</sup> he dealt at some length with the Vatican icon by Emmanuele Tzanfournari, and endeavored to relate its component scenes to patristic and ascetic literature. He observed, for example, that the great throng about the dead man "non è puramente un' immaginazione capricciosa del pittore," and cited descriptions of similar gatherings in the lives of other saints.<sup>47</sup> He was, it appears, not acquainted with the Syriac *Acts of Ephraim*, which supply details lacking in the Greek accounts (and which had been published, in Assemani's edition, about a decade earlier). For the scenes of cave-dwellers in the background Bottari sought parallels in the *Apophthegmata*, the *Pratum spirituale* of John Moschus, the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, and even in Theodoret's *Religiosa historia*; he did not, of course, entertain the notion, unheard of in his day, that a whole cycle of illustrations to one of these texts might have served as model. In stylistic matters, Bottari accepted without reservation the judgments of Vasari concerning the *maniera greca*, and was thus led to assign to the panel an utterly impossible date in the tenth century. On this account he has been neglected in the more recent literature on the subject, where his work is cited only to demonstrate the fallacy of his dating. But in his interpretation of the iconography of the painting he was plainly much nearer the truth than has been recognized.

It has already been pointed out that the Death of Ephraim is a theme not unknown in Italian painting. The Dugento triptych of the Crawford collection (Fig. 5) is not a unique example. To follow the course of this iconography in later Tuscan painting is to witness the growth of an autonomous style, gradually freeing itself from the domination of Byzantine models. The most important monument in this connection is the well-known panel in the Uffizi, of about 1400 or a little later, representing the monks of the Thebaid.<sup>48</sup> The left portion of this painting (Fig. 10), comprising about one third of the whole, unquestionably has as its basis the Byzantine composition of the Death of Ephraim. Other Italian examples of about the same date include two panels likewise in the possession of the Earl of Crawford,<sup>49</sup> and one in the National Museum at Budapest.<sup>50</sup>

The iconography of these works has never been fully explained. Procacci, in his discussion of the Uffizi picture, which he attributes to Gherardo Starnina, suggests that it is based on the legends told in the *Vite de' santi padri* of Domenico Cavalca.<sup>51</sup> But this text contains nothing to account for the death scene and its attendant episodes, and cannot therefore be regarded as the source for the left portion of the painting, which, moreover, we have seen to be derived from a Byzantine prototype.

Whereas the original composition has been adhered to with relative closeness in the Crawford triptych (Fig. 5), in the Uffizi panel of something more than a century later (Fig. 10) it has undergone a considerable transformation. In the first place, the funeral scene is made to form only one part of a broad, continuous panorama, peopled with hermits engaged in various activities. The landscape, in addition, has been endowed with a new sense of depth and volume, and the foreground is occupied by a body of water that extends almost across the whole panel. The terraced caves have been converted into solid, mountainous formations, with the sharply cut facets characteristic of the Quattrocento, and a blue sky has supplanted the abstract gold background. The monks wear habits of western mode, and the little churches from which they issue bear the stamp of Italianate Gothic rather than of Byzantine architecture. The stylite and the monk with the *semantron*, figures of no significance to western monasticism, have been omitted, and in like manner the hermits' caves have

46. Bottari, *Roma sotterranea*, III, pp. 219ff.

47. *ibid.*, p. 222.

48. Reproduced in P. Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, pl. VI, no. 38.

49. *ibid.*, pl. VI, nos. 36 and 37. R. Langton Douglas rightly identifies the death scene in the second of these panels as the funeral of Ephraim (*Burlington Fine Arts Club. Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena*, London, 1904, p. 53).

50. cf. W. Suida, "Studien zur Trecentomalerei," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXI, 1908, p. 208.

51. U. Procacci, "Gherardo Starnina," *Rivista d'arte*, XVII, 1935, p. 360, note 1. Schubring proposed the same source for the two Crawford panels (*Cassoni*, p. 227). For Cavalca's text, see B. Sorio and A. Racheli (ed.), *Vite de' santi padri di Frate Domenico Cavalca*, Trieste, 1858.

been reduced to a few narrow clefts in the rocks. Such alterations, introduced with full understanding of their significance, reveal with what intelligence the artist has been able to adapt a traditional theme to a new setting.

And yet, despite these modifications, the original composition can still be discerned in its essentials. As in the Greek paintings, the body of St. Ephraim is surrounded by mourning monks, amongst whom a bishop is to be distinguished, and hermits are seen making their way to the funeral along mountain paths. Of these we may recognize the old man on crutches, and the monk riding on an ass with a brother plodding on foot beside him (Fig. 10, right side); the monk sitting in a cart drawn by two lions, with a companion walking, recalls the episode of a hermit actually borne upon a lion's back (cf. Fig. 3, lower left corner). Certain details of the archetype are reproduced with even more remarkable fidelity. The aged cripple borne in a litter by two brethren, visible directly above the group of mourners, still shows a striking resemblance to the Byzantine pictures of this incident (cf. Figs. 1-4 and 6). The monk supporting another on his back has been omitted, as in the Dochiariu fresco (Fig. 2).

The hermit carving a wooden spoon, another subject familiar to us from the Death of Ephraim and the Climax manuscripts, also appears, in somewhat altered form, in the Uffizi panel.<sup>52</sup> Here the inclusion of the motif is understandable, because it forms part of the Ephraim composition on which this work ultimately depends. But the same figure is also found in another Italian painting, the theme of which has nothing to do with the dormition of Ephraim. This is the fresco of the Thebaid in the Camposanto in Pisa, now unhappily ruined, where a monk making a huge wooden spoon is seen within a cave in the upper register (Fig. 9). The fresco also shows a monk weaving baskets,<sup>53</sup> a subject likewise found in the Ephraim paintings (cf. Fig. 1, on the left side, directly opposite the monk with the spoon). The theme of the Camposanto Thebaid as a whole is closely related, as the inscriptions demonstrate, to Cavalca's *Vite de' santi padri*.<sup>54</sup> But the illustrations of the spoon-carver and basket-weaver are not explained by this text, and hence must be accounted intrusions; like the miniatures in the Climax manuscripts described above, they have been inserted into another context because they have become familiar symbols of the life led by hermits. The most likely explanation of their presence in the Thebaid fresco is that they have been "borrowed" from the Ephraim composition, a theme known in Italy (as the Crawford tabernacle shows) since the thirteenth century.

To the numerous Byzantine examples of the Death of Ephraim we may thus add those Italian paintings in which the same subject has been incorporated into still more complex representations of eremitical life. For such works, as for the Crawford triptych, the title "Thebaid," with its connotation of an Egyptian locale, is not strictly accurate, since they deal at least in part with the deeds of Syrian hermits.<sup>55</sup>

Some writers have professed to see in the Death of Ephraim evidence that Byzantine artists "were advancing . . . towards a new appreciation of the out-of-doors."<sup>56</sup> This view, though it is to some degree confirmed by the later Greek paintings, does not take into account the manner in which the picture was invented. For we may be certain that the original artist was inspired by no such feeling for nature, but that his only concern was to compose numerous individual scenes into a new and unified relationship. Considered thus, the landscape setting is a secondary result. At a later

52. Not visible in our Figure 10. The monk, who kneels before a seated hermit, is placed almost in the exact center of the painting (cf. Procacci, *op.cit.*, fig. 39).

53. Reproduced in J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, 2nd ed., London, 1903-14, II, pl. opp. p. 222.

54. S. Morpurgo, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima del 'Trionfo della Morte,' del 'Giudizio Universale e Inferno,' e degli 'Anacoreti' nel Camposanto di Pisa," *L'arte*, II, 1899, pp. 71ff.

55. The almost inevitable association of hermits with the

Egyptian Thebaid is perhaps to be traced to the Camposanto fresco, which does indeed represent the Egyptian Fathers Anthony, Macarius, Onuphrius, etc. But the Uffizi panel and related works are not, as has been stated (Schubring, *Cassoni*, pp. 177, 227), merely dependent on this fresco, nor are they exclusively concerned with Egyptian anchorites.

56. Byron and Rice, *The Birth of Western Painting*, note to pl. 86. Similarly, Kallab interprets the Vatican icon as a step toward the development of Italian landscape painting ("Die toscanische Landschaftsmalerei," pp. 22, 47).

date, it is true, Italian painters employing the same compositional formula were able to invest it with a genuine sense of coherent spatiality (Fig. 10); and something of this quality has no doubt been communicated, in return, to certain of the sixteenth century Byzantine examples. Thus, for instance, the extensive vista which opens into the center of the Vatican icon (Fig. 1) conflicts with the relatively two-dimensional forms of the caves on either side and is surely attributable to western influence. In this respect, the Dochiariu fresco (Fig. 2), with its spaceless series of overlapping planes succeeding one another vertically, perhaps resembles the original most closely.

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# RIEMENSCHNEIDER'S ST. JEROME AND HIS OTHER WORKS IN ALABASTER\*

JUSTUS BIER

IN 1946, the Cleveland Museum of Art added to its collection of German sculpture, including such rare and eminent masters as Veit Stoss and Hans Leinberger, another masterpiece. This is Tilmann Riemenschneider's alabaster group, *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot* (Figs. 1-4).<sup>1</sup> This distinguished work might well be discussed more at length than has been possible heretofore.<sup>2</sup> Several lines of approach will prove to yield additional information of a factual type: the place of the group in the iconographical tradition of the saint, the history of its ownership, the question of Riemenschneider's rare use of alabaster, and the chronology of his works in this material. From the results of these various investigations we may derive a richer understanding of this group which deserves to be regarded as one of Riemenschneider's most important works.

## I

When Riemenschneider represented St. Jerome extracting the thorn from the lion's paw, he selected an incident from the saint's legend which became particularly popular with artists of the fifteenth century. This incident is shown either in the saint's study, as in a series of fifteenth century representations of which Dürer's woodcut of St. Jerome of 1492 is the best known, or in an open landscape representing the desert of Chalcis where St. Jerome lived as a penitent and hermit. The landscape setting is found in paintings of the Veneto-Byzantine school as well as in Flemish paintings like Rogier van der Weyden's panel recently acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 5).<sup>3</sup>

Jerome in Riemenschneider's carving is seated on a bench which is placed on a plot of grass-covered ground.<sup>4</sup> The bench is invisible in the front view (Fig. 1), only from one side and from the rear (Fig. 4) can it be seen. The bench may have been suggested to Riemenschneider by some representation similar to the painting of the Veneto-Byzantine school in the National Gallery, London,<sup>5</sup> which, in spite of the desert setting, shows St. Jerome *in cathedra*, characterizing him as

\* This study is dedicated to Georg Swarzenski who laid the groundwork for the investigation of German alabaster sculpture of this period. To William M. Milliken I am indebted for the photographs of the Cleveland group used in this article and for many other courtesies, and to Creighton Gilbert, who read this article in manuscript, for several helpful suggestions. Credit for photographs is due to Leo Gundermann, Würzburg (Figs. 6-12), K. Luft, Steinsfeld (Fig. 13), and L. Holl, Mergentheim (Fig. 15).

1. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund. No. 46.82. Height 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ " ; width 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ " ; depth 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

2. cf. William M. Milliken, "St. Jerome and the Lion" by Tilmann Riemenschneider, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XXXIII, December 1946, pp. 175-177, illus. on pp. 173, 182f.

3. cf. Grete Ring, "St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 188-194. Cf. also E. P. Richardson, "St. Jerome in the Desert by Rogier van der Weyden," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XXVI, 1947, pp. 53-56. The panel was acquired in 1946 as a gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb.

4. The grass on the plot of ground is indicated, as usual in Riemenschneider's sculpture, through shallow relief cutting, suggesting the pattern of grass blades. It was also indicated

through green color of which only traces remain. I see no reason to doubt the originality of this paint, as Milliken did, who rather cautiously remarked that "these remains may be from Baroque times." The same green color appears on the ground of the relief *The Weighing of the Soul of Emperor Henry* at the tomb of SS. Henry II and Cunegund (reproduced in Bier, "Riemenschneider's Tomb of Emperor Henry and Empress Cunegund," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 95-117, Fig. 15) and on the ground of other alabaster works by Riemenschneider, the *Virgin* in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 9) and the Annunciation group, formerly in the collection of M. von Goldschmidt-Rothschild in Frankfurt-am-Main (Fig. 8). Riemenschneider quite often touched his stone sculptures up with color and gold in spots as an enrichment of the surface, without competing with the professional painter's solid coat of paint and gilt.

5. Illustrated by Ring, *op.cit.*, Fig. 8. Anna Strümpell, "Hieronymus im Gehäuse," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, II, 1925-26, p. 201, thinks it possible that the motif of St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot originated in the field of sculpture, which would make any landscape a later addition to the original motif. This thesis sounds plausible, but it is contradicted by the citation from Joannes Andreas quoted below, which speaks only of paintings.



the great Latin doctor even in this outdoor scene. Rogier showed St. Jerome seated on a rock ledge. Apart from this difference, in which Riemenschneider continued a tradition discarded by Rogier, Rogier's composition seems to have furnished the basic model for Riemenschneider although Riemenschneider adds new features to it. Like Rogier's saint, Riemenschneider's St. Jerome is shown in the garb of a cardinal, yet not wearing the hat. Riemenschneider shows the hat on one knee and supporting the action of one arm as it performs the extraction, whereas Rogier had shown the hat on the ground near the saint. The representation of St. Jerome in the desert as cardinal was generally accepted, although this rank can have been bestowed on him only in a later period than the period of his penitence (from 375 to 380), if at all.<sup>6</sup>

The iconographic idea which Riemenschneider used in his sculptural rendering goes considerably farther back than Rogier van der Weyden's panel. It was introduced in the fourteenth century by a professor of law, Joannes Andreas of Bologna (about 1330, d. 1348). This Bolognese professor made the revival and intensification of the Jerome cult his chief object in life, exactly as another humanist, Johannes Trithemius, in Riemenschneider's own lifetime, made the intensification of the cult of St. Anne his life task.<sup>7</sup> Both men had considerable influence on the spread of the cult of their chosen patron saints and on the artistic development of devotional images required by their cult. It was Joannes Andreas who in his *Hieronymus* suggested representing St. Jerome "in cathedra sedens"—as Riemenschneider, but not Rogier, represented him—"cum capello, quo nunc cardinales utuntur, deposito, et leone mansueto."<sup>8</sup>

The cardinal's hat, which in the painting by Rogier (Fig. 5) lies on the ground to the side of the saint, as prescribed by Joannes Andreas, is laid on the saint's lap in Riemenschneider's composition. It is placed there as a rest for his right arm to steady the hand performing the operation, an original idea of Riemenschneider not found in any previous representation.<sup>9</sup>

Joannes Andreas of Bologna wished to popularize St. Jerome because this saint appealed to him as a humanist. Yet he did not choose the Saint Writing in His Study, a theme which became popular after Jan van Eyck's and Antonello da Messina's renderings, and which was to reach its final triumph with Dürer's famous engraving *Hieronymus im Gehäus*. The Bolognese professor of law, although a humanist himself, counted not so much on a humanistic public as on the common people for the new devotional image he suggested. To these, the fascinating miracle of the dumb beast, its savagery tamed by St. Jerome's exemplary goodness, had great appeal. It appealed far more than the unapproachable image of a man of great learning seated at his desk, writing, meditating or reading. This image probably had such an effect that even a prayer offered to St. Jerome would have seemed to disturb the perfect quietude of his contemplative life.

The tale of the tamed lion can be traced back to ancient times.<sup>10</sup> It changed in mediaeval times from a tale of simple gratitude to a tale of an animal tamed by the miraculous power of the saint. It was fitted into the legend of St. Jerome to explain the lion which had been used as his symbol. This symbol connected him, as one of the four great Latin Fathers, with St. Mark, to whom among the four evangelists the winged lion had been assigned by St. Jerome himself. St. Jerome's lion, therefore, is ultimately derived from the winged lion among the apocalyptic beasts. These apocalyp-

6. The biographer of the *Vita Prima* of St. Jerome does not make him a cardinal; only with the biographer of the *Vita Secunda* does the report originate that the saint had been ordained cardinal presbyter after his arrival in Rome in 382. Since he served as the adviser of Pope Damasus, who commissioned him to translate and commentate the Holy scriptures, the writer of the *Vita Secunda* assumed that Jerome must have been a member of the College of Cardinals.

7. cf. Bier, "An 'Anna Seldbritt' by Riemenschneider," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VII-VIII, 1944-45, p. 19.

8. Bollandist Fathers, *Acta sanctorum Septembris*, VIII, p. 660, § LXXV "De tabulis S. Hieronymum representantibus," quoted in part by Ring, *op.cit.*, p. 190, but without the passage "in cathedra sedens," a part of Joannes Andreas' prescription

Rogier discarded. The full passage reads: "Dictavi formam, qua nunc in cathedra sedens pingitur, cum capello, quo nunc cardinales utuntur, deposito et leone mansueto. Sic in locis diversis ipsius multiplicando picturas. In publico domus proprie plene ipsius hystoriam feci pingi." In translation: "I prescribed the form in which he is now painted, seated in cathedra, with the hat which the cardinals now use laid beside him and with the tamed lion. Thus multiplying pictures of him in various places. I had his story painted fully and correctly in a public building."

9. Ring, *op.cit.*, p. 192, describes the hat as being "squeezed under the Saint's right arm." Evidently she missed the meaning of Riemenschneider's purposeful invention.

10. See Ring, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

tic beasts had become accepted as symbols of the four evangelists as early as the fourth century. St. Jerome first proposed the order most widely accepted and used, identifying the man with Matthew, the lion with Mark, the calf with Luke, and the eagle with John.<sup>11</sup>

Late Gothic sculptors were evidently aware of this origin of St. Jerome's lion from the apocalyptic beast. In a relief on the sandstone pulpit in the parish church of Karlstadt, executed in 1523 by a pupil of Riemenschneider, the winged lion is represented at the side of St. Jerome, who is writing at a pulpit set in a desert landscape (Fig. 6).<sup>12</sup> St. Jerome is unmistakably identified through his cardinal's hat hanging from his pulpit. The other sides of the Karlstadt sandstone pulpit show the other three great Latin Fathers, all characterized by the same symbols which are used for the evangelists.

## II

Riemenschneider, whose most famous works were executed life size, in lindenwood and stone, made infrequent use of alabaster and the small scale it required. However, there are still known today four alabaster statues by Riemenschneider in addition to the *St. Jerome*: a *St. Barbara* in the Roseliushaus in Bremen (Fig. 7), a Virgin and an Angel forming an *Annunciation*, formerly in the collection of M. von Goldschmidt-Rothschild in Frankfurt-am-Main (Fig. 8), and a Virgin from an *Annunciation*, of which the angel is lost, in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 9).<sup>13</sup>

Alabaster sculptures by Riemenschneider decorated altars of the chantry of the Würzburg Cathedral,<sup>14</sup> according to the Würzburg historian Scharold, who in the early nineteenth century retraced Riemenschneider's life story and work after centuries in which even the memory of Riemenschneider's name had been lost.<sup>15</sup>

It seems tempting to relate the Cleveland *St. Jerome* (Fig. 1) to these alabaster works in the Würzburg Cathedral, yet evidence points in another direction. Milliken<sup>16</sup> traces the group of *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot* back to a private collection in Dieburg near Darmstadt, following Otto Grossmann, who in 1909 was first to call attention to the group in the literature on Riemenschneider.<sup>17</sup>

In the same collection in Dieburg, belonging to a cleric, there was also, according to Grossmann, the alabaster *Virgin* now in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 9). The catalogue of the Louvre reports that this *Virgin* was originally in the Church of St. Peter at Erfurt.<sup>18</sup>

This information is backed up by an article by Ernst Förster, published in 1856, describing the Louvre statuette in the collection of the Domprobst Würschmidt in Erfurt.<sup>19</sup> Förster states that the

11. cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, N.J., 1942, p. 143.

12. Attributed to a pupil by Eduard Tönnies, *Leben und Werke des Würzburger Bildschnitzers Tilmann Riemenschneider* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 22), Strassburg, 1900, p. 202; Carl Adelman, "Til Riemenschneider," *Walhall*, VI, Leipzig, 1910, p. 105; Hubert Schrade, *Tilmann Riemenschneider*, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 114, and Fritz Knapp, *Mainfranken*, 1928, p. 80. G. Anton Weber, *Til Riemenschneider*, Regensburg, 1911, p. 124 and Feulner in *Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern*, III, 6, 1912, p. 98 with fig. 65, assume that the Karlstadt pulpit was produced in Riemenschneider's workshop. But its parapet reliefs, including the St. Jerome, are below the usual quality of Riemenschneider's workshop production. The Karlstadt pulpit contains one relief of higher quality, the relief of the Saviour in the back of the pulpit. It has been attributed to Riemenschneider himself by Weber, *loc. cit.* Yet it is better only because it is a copy of Riemenschneider's Saviour from the high altar of the Würzburg Cathedral, now in the parish church at Biebelried. On the Biebelried Saviour, cf. Bier, *Tilmann Riemenschneider: Die reifen Werke*, Augsburg, 1930, pp. 110, 114, and pls. 116-117. The Karlstadt pulpit might be the work of the stone sculptor Georg (Jörg) Riemenschneider

who became a master in the Würzburg guild of St. Luke on July 25, 1522. Georg Riemenschneider was the oldest son of Tilmann Riemenschneider and his second wife, Margareta Rappolt. About Georg Riemenschneider cf. Bier in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 329.

13. These I listed in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 334.

14. cf. C. G. Scharold, "Geschichte und Beschreibung des St. Kilians-Doms, oder der bischöflichen Kathedrale zu Würzburg," *Archiv des historischen Vereins für den Untermainkreis*, IV, 1, 1837, p. 124. As is usual with him, Scharold does not give his sources.

15. cf. Scharold, "T. Riemenschneider," *Archiv des historischen Vereins für Unterfranken*, VI, 3, 1840, p. 150.

16. *op. cit.*, p. 175 n. 1.

17. Otto Grossmann, "Eine Madonna von Riemenschneider?" *Hessenkunst*, 1909, pp. 29f.

18. Musée National du Louvre: *Catalogue des sculptures du Moyen Age . . .*, 1922, pt. 1, no. 555.

19. Ernst Förster, *Denkmale deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei und Malerei von Einführung des Christentums bis auf die neueste Zeit*, II, 2, Leipzig, 1856, p. 23: "Die heilige Jungfrau im Besitz des Herrn Domprobstes Würschmidt in Erfurt."





1. Front View



2. Detail



3. Detail



4. Rear View

Riemenschneider, *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot*.  
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art



5. Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot*. Detroit Institute of Arts



6. Workshop of Riemenschneider, *St. Jerome Writing*.  
Karlstadt, Parish Church



7. Riemenschneider, *St. Barbara*.  
Bremen, Roseliushaus



8. Riemenschneider, *Annunciation*. Formerly Frankfurt-am-Main,  
M. von Goldschmidt-Rothschild Collection





9. Riemenschneider, *Virgin* (fragment from an Annunciation). Paris, Louvre



10. Detail of Figure 9



11. School of Riemenschneider, *St. Jerome as Penitent*. Würzburg, Mainfränkisches Museum



12. Riemenschneider, *Adoration of the Magi*. Creglingen, Herrgottskapelle



13. Riemenschneider, *Healing of Emperor Henry from the Stone* (detail).  
Bamberg, Cathedral



14. School of Riemenschneider, *Mourning Virgin*.  
Munich, Bayerisches National Museum



15. School of Riemenschneider, *Pietà*.  
Mergentheim, Marienkirche



statuette came from the old Church of St. Peter at Erfurt, "now used as a military magazine." He adds that it is carved from alabaster quarried near the city; this fact he used to strengthen his assumption that the group had been executed in Erfurt by a sculptor of the Middle German school. This suggestion might be made to fit Riemenschneider, who because of his residence in Würzburg from 1483 to his death in 1531 is usually cited as of the Franconian school, but was born in Osterode am Harz, a Middle German town, about sixty-five miles northwest of Erfurt.

Förster adds the important information that "we have at least one other work by the same hand. It is a St. Jerome extracting the thorn from the lion, a seated statuette of smaller dimensions than those of the Madonna; of equal beauty and perfection in the execution and carved from the same alabaster. It is also in the possession of Herr Domprobst Würschmidt in Erfurt."

There can be no doubt that the "St. Jerome extracting the thorn from the lion," mentioned here is identical with the Cleveland piece, since the Louvre *Virgin* and the Cleveland *St. Jerome* can both be traced to the Dieburg collection, and since the description of the statuette, as being seated and being of smaller dimensions than those of the *Virgin* now in the Louvre, fits the Cleveland alabaster.

Grossmann, in a letter I received from him on October 18, 1923, added to the information he had given in print in 1909. According to this letter, the cleric who possessed both marble works had come to live in Dieburg about 1860, and he had lived, before he was pensioned, in the diocese of Würzburg.

The alabaster statuettes from his collection were offered for sale by his heirs when exhibited in the *Ausstellung für Christliche Kunst* at Mainz in 1892. The *Virgin* passed into three or four dealers' hands until the Louvre acquired the figure in 1904. The *St. Jerome* came into the possession of Mme. C. Lelong in Paris. In the sale catalogue of this collection it was labeled as "North Italian."<sup>20</sup> Grossmann attributed the group to Riemenschneider, when it was still in France in the collection of Ed. Aynard, Lyon. In the sale of this collection it appeared again as "Italian."<sup>21</sup> In 1913 it returned to Germany, being acquired for the collection of Harry Fuld at Frankfurt-am-Main on the advice of Georg Swarzenski, then of the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, now of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>22</sup> From Fuld's sister, Mrs. Clementine Cramer, who fled from Nazi Germany to England,<sup>23</sup> and finally made her home in the United States, the Cleveland Museum acquired the group through a New York dealer.

### III

When Ernst Förster<sup>24</sup> first called attention to the *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot* from St. Peter's in Erfurt he called its creator "one of the most excellent and most perfect artists of the fifteenth century," without attempting a more specific date for the work itself. Grossmann,<sup>25</sup> when he attributed the work to Riemenschneider in 1909, did not date it specifically. Carl Adelman,<sup>26</sup> who knew the work only from the small reproduction Grossmann had given, attributed it in 1910 to a "worthy and attentive pupil," the same pupil who created the figure of "a St. Jerome Standing, in the Museum at Würzburg."<sup>27</sup> This figure (Fig. 11), showing St. Jerome

20. *Sale Cat.*, Georges Petit Gal., 1902, no. 147.

21. *Sale Cat.*, Georges Petit Gal., 1913, no. 278.

22. cf. *Kunstchronik*, Neue Folge, XXV, 1914, pp. 292f., referring to the temporary exhibition of the group in the Liebighaus, the municipal collection of sculpture, at Frankfurt-am-Main; Georg Swarzenski, "Die Sammlung Harry Fuld in Frankfurt," *Kunstblatt*, II, 1918, p. 85.

23. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 4th ed., Vienna, 1937, p. 27, pl. 54, listed the group as in the collection Cramer, Northwood.

24. *loc.cit.*

25. *loc.cit.*

26. C. Adelman, in *Walhalla*, VI, 1910, p. 108.

27. Mainfränkisches Museum, Feste Marienberg, Würzburg, no. H.14262. Lindenwood. Height 1.30 m. This figure, showing St. Jerome with the biretta as headdress, was evidently never painted. The lindenwood has a darkish stain, probably added in the nineteenth century. The figure was acquired by the Historischer Verein about 1880. It was photographed for the first time for this publication by Leo Gundermann, Würzburg. The Museum possessed a second smaller figure of St. Jerome wearing the hat of a cardinal, which came from the collection of the City of Würzburg. It was of lindenwood and painted, 95 cm. high. This figure, never photographed, was burned in the air-raid cellar of the Museum on March 16, 1945, when most of the city was destroyed. For the information above I am



as a Penitent, was certainly not carved by the same hand which carved *St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot*. In the declamatory expression of repentance that the saint of the standing figure shows, holding the stone for display rather than for beating his breast, in the sickly appearance of the lion who sets his right leg on a prayer book, and in the confused general arrangement of draperies and folds, the mannered hand of a pupil is evident.

Georg Swarzenski in 1918 reinstated the alabaster *St. Jerome* as a work of Riemenschneider's own hand, calling it "the master work of a late Gothic classic artist."<sup>28</sup> He seemed to consider it an early work since he listed it in his catalogue of German sculpture in alabaster of the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Hubert Schrader in 1927 followed Swarzenski in dating it shortly before 1500.<sup>30</sup> He admitted that he doubted the attribution of the alabaster *St. Jerome* to Riemenschneider until he discovered the close relationship between the *St. Jerome* and the old kneeling king in the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 12), one of the predella groups of Riemenschneider's Creglingen altarpiece.<sup>31</sup> *The Adoration of the Magi* and its counterpart *Christ among the Teachers* must be regarded as the last reliefs of this altarpiece which was carved about 1505-1510. Riemenschneider probably executed the predella groups about 1510.<sup>32</sup> About 1505-1510 is the date I myself gave to the group of *St. Jerome and the Lion*.<sup>33</sup> Milliken, who relates the *St. Jerome* to the figures on the lid of the tomb of Emperor Henry and Cunegund,<sup>34</sup> came to the same conclusion, placing the *St. Jerome* among "the mature work of around 1510."<sup>35</sup>

Even more striking than the relation to the old king of the Creglingen *Adoration* or the figures of Emperor Henry and Cunegund on the lid of the Bamberg sarcophagus is the relation to a figure in one of the reliefs decorating the sides of this sarcophagus, the figure of St. Benedict in *The Delivery of Emperor Henry From the Stone* (Fig. 13).<sup>35a</sup> St. Benedict in this relief is shown as the heaven-sent surgeon who has cut the stone out of the sleeping Emperor's side and places it in his hand, so that after awakening he will be aware of the miraculous cure. St. Jerome and St. Benedict differ in age: the head of St. Jerome is the head of an old man, whereas St. Benedict appears as a rather young monk. They differ even in physical type: the head of St. Jerome shows a rather pointed chin which increases the ascetic character of his face, whereas St. Benedict's face has a squarish jaw. Yet it is the same feeling which appears in both figures. Both are original versions of Riemenschneider's refined and spiritual concept of the great doctors of the Church. In both figures the head appears with a slight tilt which contributes to that expression of Christian humility with which Riemenschneider imbued even his miracle-working saints. The similarity of size and material, Solnhofen (lithographic) stone, often called Jura marble, in the case of the Bamberg tomb, and alabaster in the case of the *St. Jerome*, makes comparison easy.

The relief of *The Delivery of Emperor Henry from the Stone* is one of the most mature parts of the Bamberg tomb, which was begun in 1499 and completed in 1513. It was most probably executed about, or even after, 1510. The alabaster group of *St. Jerome* was evidently made before Riemenschneider carved the *St. Benedict* of the Bamberg tomb. *St. Jerome's* greater individuality and the livelier, less idealized, treatment places it somewhat closer to the apostle figures of the Creglingen *Ascension*, carved probably between 1505 and 1510.

indebted to Dr. Max H. von Freeden, director of the Mainfränkisches Museum.

28. Kunstblatt, II, 1918, p. 85; cf. also Otto Schmitt and Georg Swarzenski, *Meisterwerke der Bildhauerkunst in Frankfurt Privatbesitz*, I, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1921, no. 143.

29. Georg Swarzenski, "Deutsche Alabasterplastik des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Städte-Jahrbuch*, I, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1921, p. 169.

30. H. Schrader, *op.cit.*, II, no. 278.

31. cf. on this altarpiece J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die reifen Werke*, pp. 56-86, pls. 90-102. Cf. also Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 6th ed., Vienna, 1948, pls. 58-73.

32. cf. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 6th ed., p. 33, note to pls. 70-73; and Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 334.

33. J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 4th ed., p. 27 and pl. 54; also 6th ed., p. 32 and pl. 56.

34. Which he dates "about 1506" accepting the date I gave in *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*, Würzburg, 1925, p. 107. The lid is the part with which Riemenschneider started work on the tomb in 1499. The whole tomb was finished in 1513. Cf. Bier in *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 111ff. and appendix.

35. Milliken, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

35a. In legend of Fig. 13 read *Delivery for Healing*.

## IV

How did Riemenschneider happen to become interested in alabaster as a material for his sculptures? It could be pointed out that alabaster was a material frequently used for sculptures at Erfurt, long before Riemenschneider. The Cathedral Museum in Erfurt has two alabaster groups, each about 50 cm. high, one representing *St. John the Baptist with a Clerical Donor*, the other an *Apostle with a Donor*.<sup>36</sup> These groups, which probably stood in the Erfurt Cathedral, have been considered either as works of the Bohemian school, about 1430-1440,<sup>37</sup> or as local productions of the Saxon school of the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Still in the Cathedral is the famous *St. Maurice*, a lifesize figure in alabaster, dated 1467.<sup>39</sup> The same master also carved in alabaster a large relief of *St. Michael's Battle with the Dragon*, dated in the same year, in the Severikirche in Erfurt.<sup>40</sup>

It is probable that the church authorities or the donor who ordered the *Annunciation* and the *St. Jerome* from Riemenschneider stipulated in the contract that alabaster should be the material used. And since alabaster is quarried near Erfurt they probably provided the material themselves and sent it to Riemenschneider's workshop in Würzburg. To provide the material for the sculptor was common usage. We have documentary proof, for instance, that marble and sandstone for Riemenschneider's monument of Bishop Rudolf von Scherenberg were provided by Bishop Lorenz von Bibra, who erected the monument, the marble being shipped from Salzburg to Würzburg.<sup>41</sup>

It might therefore be assumed that Riemenschneider first turned to alabaster as a sculptural material when he received these Erfurt orders. Yet that is not so. He may have known the older Erfurt alabaster works for a long time, since he probably passed through Erfurt on his way south from his home town, Osterode am Harz. Yet he came in contact with alabaster sculpture in other places as well during his journeyman's years, which, according to the evidence found in his early works, he must have spent in Swabia and on the Upper Rhine.<sup>42</sup>

The collection of the Frauenhaus in Strasbourg contains two groups from an alabaster *Crucifixion*<sup>43</sup> which seems to have influenced Riemenschneider. Their influence is evident in a *Crucifixion* altarpiece in the village church at Dettwang, carved for St. Michael's Chapel at Rothenburg on the Tauber,<sup>44</sup> and even more so in the two early groups from a *Crucifixion* in the collection of Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein in Maihingen.<sup>45</sup> The latter, Riemenschneider produced for an altarpiece

36. Height 53 cm. with socle. Cf. Overmann, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Erfurt*, 1911, no. 64 (I was unable to consult this book); Georg Swarzenski, *Städte-Jahrbuch*, 1, 1921, p. 184, with figs. 118 and 119 on page 209, no. XXIII, b, 5 on p. 211; Herbert Kunze, *Die gotische Sculptur in Mitteldeutschland*, Bonn, 1925, pl. 60.

37. Kunze, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

38. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, speaks on p. 184 of the Middle Rhenish-Franconian style of this important sculptor. Yet he seems to assume that his work was done in Erfurt as a place where traditionally this mixture of styles is found. On p. 211 he calls them Saxon.

39. Kunze, *op.cit.*, pl. 67. Swarzenski overlooked this figure. On it see Wilhelm Pinder, *Die deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft) II, Wildpark-Potsdam, 1929, p. 362.

40. Height 170 cm., width 130 cm. Cf. Overmann, *op.cit.*, no. 121; Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, p. 184 with fig. 13, p. 211, no. XXXIV, 2; Kunze, *op.cit.*, pl. 65; Pinder, *loc.cit.*, with fig. 342.

41. In the contract for the monument of Rudolf von Scherenberg (Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*, p. 101, no. 23) it is mentioned that the sandstone for it would be sent by the bishop. Of the marble, however, nothing is said. I therefore assumed, *op.cit.*, p. 78, that the marble was provided by Riemenschneider. But in a letter to the Council of Nuremberg, received between December 12, 1495, and January 27, 1496, Lorenz von Bibra, bishop of Würzburg, asks that it

"lend him a strong wagon and also a workman to bring home bishop Rudolf's stone," indicating that the bishop also provided the marble. Cf. Gumbel in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIII, 1922, p. 320, and XLVIII, 1927, p. 218.

42. cf. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*, pp. 1-3. The thesis that Swabia and the Upper Rhine formed Riemenschneider's style is accepted by Schrade, *op.cit.*; Theodor Demmler, *Die Meisterwerke Tilman Riemenschneiders*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 6-7. Kurt Gerstenberg, *Tilman Riemenschneider*, Wien, 1941, p. 12, also accepts the theory that Riemenschneider got his training on the Upper Rhine. Yet he assumes that he was also "perhaps already in his journeyman's years" in the Netherlands. I cannot find any Netherlandish influences in Riemenschneider's art that could not be explained indirectly through works of art he saw in such places as Strasbourg, Ulm, and Ravensburg.

43. Alabaster from the Meuse river. Height 40 cm. Cf. A. Schricker, *Kunstschätze in Elsass-Lothringen*, Strassburg, 1896, pl. 16; Swarzenski, in *Städte-Jahrbuch*, 1, 1921, p. 201, figs. 78 and 80, p. 203, no. XVIII, 8. Swarzenski considers these groups Alsatian and of the fifteenth century. Hans Haug, *Le Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame à Strasbourg*, Strasbourg, 1931, p. 27 with figs. 15 and 16, considers them imports from the Meuse region and dates them 1460-70.

44. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die reifen Werke*, pp. 87-103, 178, pls. 103-109.

45. Bier, *op.cit.*, pp. 102f. (with figs.). Cf. also Bier, "Zur Frage der Jugendwerke spätgotischer Bildhauer," *XIV<sup>e</sup> Con-*

which probably stood in the abbey church at Wiblingen.<sup>46</sup> He most certainly did it as a journeyman in a Swabian workshop before he settled in Würzburg. He registered in Würzburg in 1483 as a journeyman, and became, in 1485, an independent master there, after his marriage to a goldsmith's widow.

Alabaster is a material frequently used in the Upper Rhine region and in Alsace. It seems, too, that sculptors specialized in this material, as is indicated, for instance, by the reference in 1462 to "Heinrich, der alabastersnider" in Mulhouse, Alsace.<sup>47</sup> Swarzenski, who has studied the field of German late Gothic alabaster most thoroughly, localized alabaster workshops in different regions of Germany. Only the Saxon and the Upper Rhenish workshops, of which the most important works have been discussed above, seem to be of interest in connection with Riemenschneider's own production in alabaster.<sup>48</sup>

## V

Of the alabaster statuettes attributed to Riemenschneider himself, the earliest is the standing statuette of St. Barbara (Fig. 7) holding a partly broken chalice in her hands. It is in the collection of the Roselius-Haus in Bremen.<sup>49</sup> The figure, enlivened by its Gothic swing, has a fine, small face which is similar to those of Riemenschneider's figures of Mary Magdalene in the Münnerstadt altarpiece.<sup>50</sup> St. Barbara's small body is enwrapped in a voluminous mantle which is draped like the mantle of the *St. John the Baptist* in the parish church at Hassfurt.<sup>51</sup> This figure of St. John the Baptist was carved by Riemenschneider as a model for the figure of the same saint in the Münnerstadt altarpiece, copied by an assistant.<sup>52</sup>

The figure of St. Barbara is even earlier than the sculptures with which we compared it. It has distinct traces of the turbulent style of the 1480's.<sup>53</sup> This is especially evident if the *St. Barbara* is compared with the much more tempered and sedate fragment of the *Virgin* in sandstone, carved by Riemenschneider in 1492-1493 for the Annunciation group in the canopy above *Adam* at the south portal of Our Lady's Chapel in Würzburg.<sup>54</sup> Peculiarities in the fashionable attire of St.

grès international d'histoire de l'art 1936, *Résumés des communications présentées en section, Actes du Congrès*, Vol. 1, p. 58; Gerstenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 13, 57 with pls. 2 and 3.

46. Gerstenberg, *loc.cit.*, accepts the groups as early works by Riemenschneider, but dates them slightly later, 1485-90. In *Actes du Congrès*, 1, 58, two fragments from a *Lamentation of Christ*, both now in the Berlin Museum, one of these formerly in the Figdor collection in Vienna and reported to have been originally in Wiblingen, were pointed out as belonging to the same altarpiece. Gerstenberg refuses to accept this opinion, since Schrader, *op.cit.*, p. 150, relates the weeping woman on one of the Berlin fragments to Nicolaus of Hagenau's *Lamentation of Christ*, dated 1501. Yet Vöge has shown that evidently Nicolaus of Hagenau took from Riemenschneider rather than Riemenschneider from him. Cf. Wilhelm Vöge, *Niclas Hagener, der Meister des Isenheimer Hochaltars und seine Frühwerke*, Freiburg im Breisgau, n.d., p. 96. Fragments from the same altarpiece are two reliefs, *Christ on the Mount of Olives* and *The Resurrection of Christ*, in the collection of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria in Schloss Berchtesgaden. These reliefs, like the groups under the cross, were formerly in the possession of Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein. They came into the possession of the Bavarian Royal House with the purchase of Schloss Leutstetten between 1870 and 1880. When Georg Schuster in Munich restored the reliefs, the paint found under the newer coats of paint proved to be of the same kind as that on the groups in Maihingen and Berlin. For this information I am indebted to H.R.H. Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and to Freiherr von Redwitz of the Hofmarschallamt. From the list of fragments listed in the *Actes du Congrès*, 1, 58, must be subtracted the *Crucified Christ* in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Nuremberg, which proved to be a copy.

47. cf. M. Moeder, "La sculpture et les sculpteurs à Mul-

house," in *Archives alsaciennes*, VII, 1928, pp. 63f., 72.

48. Swarzenski, *loc.cit.*, in his list of fifteenth century alabaster works, places three figures of the Virgin and one of St. Catherine (his nos. 1, 10; 1, 12; III; and XXIII, C, 4) at the Lower Rhine and one Virgin (1, 11) in Alsace.

49. Height 41 cm. The figure was exhibited in 1931 at the Riemenschneider-Gedächtnis-Ausstellung des Museums für Kunst und Landes-Geschichte im Provinzial-Museum Hannover. In the catalogue of this exhibition, it is no. 1, erroneously titled "St. Catherine." Cf. Bier, "Riemenschneider-Ausstellungen im Gedächtnisjahr 1931," *Pantheon*, VIII, 1931, pp. 451-454; Habicht, "Die Hauptwerke des Roselius-Haus in Bremen," *Pantheon*, VIII, 1931, 109, with fig. on p. 111.

50. cf. the representations of Mary Magdalene on the shutter reliefs, reproduced in Bier, *Tilmann Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*, pls. 6, 7, and 8. The figure as a whole should be compared with the statue of St. Elizabeth from the same altarpiece. Carved by an assistant, this statue has not the refinement of the statuette of St. Barbara. Cf. Bier, *op.cit.*, p. 53 and pls. 17 and 19.

51. Bier, *op.cit.*, p. 53, pls. 20-21.

52. Bier, *op.cit.*, pp. 29, 53, pl. 22.

53. Bier, *op.cit.*, pl. 43. Habicht, in *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 1931, part 1, p. 5, calls the alabaster statuette of St. Barbara "pre-Würzburgian." He therefore dates it before Riemenschneider's arrival in Würzburg in 1483. The chronology of Riemenschneider's early works is too indistinct to support such a definite statement. The earliest work by Riemenschneider connected with a date is the monument of the knight Eberhard von Grumbach, who died in 1487 (Bier, *op.cit.*, pls. 64f.).

54. Bier, *op.cit.*, pl. 43.



Barbara, such as the turban formed by a plain circle, point also to an early date. The turban-like headdresses of all other Riemenschneider figures show the turban with an upward curve over the forehead<sup>55</sup> instead of the plain circular form which appears as early as the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>56</sup> It reappears, however, as late as 1501 in Nicolaus von Hagenau's *Mary Magdalene* in the altarpiece of the Strasbourg Fronaltar.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that the way in which the turban is wound in Riemenschneider's *St. Barbara*, forming a kind of pointed arch above the forehead, seems to indicate a tendency toward the humped shape Riemenschneider chose in later representations of this headdress.

Apparently as early as the *St. Barbara* are the two kneeling statuettes forming an *Annunciation* (Fig. 8), formerly in the collection of Baron M. von Goldschmidt-Rothschild in Frankfurt-am-Main.<sup>58</sup> The figures have something doll-like about them in their small scale and elaborate finish. Like all of Riemenschneider's alabaster statuettes, they are partially painted and gilded.<sup>59</sup> The paint and gilding is better preserved on these two statuettes than on Riemenschneider's other alabaster works, where only small vestiges of it have remained.

It has been pointed out that Riemenschneider's *Annunciation* has some features in common with the sandstone *Annunciation* in the cathedral of Speyer, carved in the early 1470's.<sup>60</sup> This work is related to the school of Nicolaes Gerhaert von Leyden, whose style influenced Riemenschneider greatly. It should also be observed that the *Annunciation* of the Master E.S. (L. 13) has contributed to the formulation of Riemenschneider's composition.<sup>61</sup>

The fragment of another *Annunciation* group, the kneeling statuette of the Virgin in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 9), whose origin from St. Peter's in Erfurt has already been mentioned, is somewhat later in style than the statuettes discussed above, but too turbulent in the whole arrangement to be placed chronologically together with the *St. Jerome* (Fig. 1). The calm, concentrated expression of the noble face contrasts with the cascading whirling movement in the richly folded garments. Similar contrasts between facial expression and the movement of the garments will be found in the figures of the evangelists from the Münnerstadt altarpiece now in the Berlin Museum.<sup>62</sup> The Louvre statuette must be dated in the 1490's, which fits also its similarity in face and expression to the Münnerstadt *Magdalene* and the *Eve* of St. Mary's Chapel.<sup>63</sup>

That the figure of the Virgin and the *St. Jerome* should have come from the same altarpiece seems improbable, on account of the difference in style, although it could be assumed that the *Annunciation* was ordered first and the altarpiece later on enlarged by lateral figures. This happened

55. Of documented figures compare St. Cunegund on the lid of the tomb of Emperor Henry and Cunegund (1499-1513) in the Cathedral of Bamberg, reproduced in ART BULLETIN, XXIX, opp. p. 102, Fig. 4. The same headdress appears also in the representations of St. Cunegund in the lateral reliefs of this tomb, reproduced ART BULLETIN, XXIX, opp. p. 100, Figs. 10, 13, and 14.

56. An instance is a figure of Mary Magdalene at the Holy Tomb of 1454 in the chapel of the hospital at Tonnerre, carved by Jean Michel and Georges de la Sonnette, illustrated by Jules Roussel, *La sculpture française* III, pl. 11, fig. 3.

57. cf. Voegelé, *op.cit.*, pl. 39, fig. 1, and O. Schmitt, *Ober-rheinische Plastik im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1924, pl. 76.

58. Height 40 cm. High relief, flat on the back. The right lower arm of the angel with the blessing hand is restored, and also a piece of his scroll below his left hand and above the rolled-in end which rests on his knee. The group was first published by Otto Schmitt and Georg Swarzenski, *Meisterwerke der Bildhauerkunst in Frankfurter Privatbesitz*, I, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1921, no. 144. H. Schrader, *op.cit.*, dated this group on p. 56 in the mid-1480's, and on p. 59 assumes it to be the earliest of all known works. In the catalogue *Riemenschneider-Gedächtnisausstellung 1931 des Museums für Kunst und Landesgeschichte im Provinzial-Museum Hannover*, no. 8,

dated about 1500.

59. The borders of the cloaks are richly ornamented in gold over red bole. Gilt also are the fringe of the angel's cape, the rope with which he is girded, the AVE MARIA on his scroll, and the hair of both the angel and the Virgin. Gold is also used at some profiles of the Virgin's pulpit and at the hinges and lock of its little door. The iris and the edges of the eyelids are tinted in black. The lips and the cover of the Virgin's prayer book are red. Green is used on the grass-covered ground on which both figures are placed.

60. By Schrader, *op.cit.*, p. 58, who calls the Speyer Annunciation the prototype of Riemenschneider's alabaster Annunciation. Otto Wertheimer, *Nicolaus Gerhaert, seine Kunst und seine Wirkung*, Berlin, 1929, p. 71, with pl. 54, evaluates the Speyer Annunciation as the most important work of the School of Gerhaert in the middle Rhine region.

61. Edith Hessig, *Die Kunst des Meister E.S. und die Plastik der Spätgotik*, Berlin, 1935, p. 50 with pl. 39, relates both the Speyer Annunciation and the later dependent Annunciation in the cathedral at Worms, carved in 1487, to the engraving L. 13 of the Master E.S.

62. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*, pls. 27-30.

63. Bier, *op.cit.*, pls. 4, 6-8, and 42.

at Bibra where the figure of St. Leo the Great from Riemenschneider's workshop, executed about 1504, was embodied in a shrine ordered some years later.<sup>64</sup> But it is equally possible that Riemenschneider, after he had executed the *Annunciation* for St. Peter's, received the order for another altarpiece with either a St. Jerome alone or in a similar arrangement to that chosen in Bibra where the four Latin Fathers are arranged on both sides of a figure of St. Leo the Great.<sup>65</sup> These other figures then would have been lost, as was the angel of the Erfurt *Annunciation*.

The series of alabaster works seems to prove one point: that alabaster was a material not used by Riemenschneider just incidentally. He must have started working in this material about 1480 as a journeyman and continued using it at least into the first decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Riemenschneider's interest in work of small size is evidenced, too, by the reliefs of the Bamberg tomb and in the Creglingen predella.

Alabaster seems to appear also occasionally in works related to Riemenschneider's school. Two works should be mentioned in this connection. One is a figure of the Virgin from a *Crucifixion* (Fig. 14), preserved in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich.<sup>67</sup> The other is a small alabaster *Pietà* (Fig. 15) in the Marienkirche in Mergentheim.<sup>68</sup> The Virgin in this group seems to have some similarity to the *Virgins* in Riemenschneider's lindenwood *Pietà* in the Franziskanerkirche in Würzburg,<sup>69</sup> and in the sandstone *Pietà* attributed to Riemenschneider in the Berlin Museum.<sup>70</sup> The gruesome representation of the broken body of Christ with the head hanging down follows one of the oldest types of the *Pietà* first created in the fourteenth century, a type Riemenschneider himself mellowed in his own variations of the theme.<sup>71</sup>

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64. cf. Bier, "A Bust of St. Urban by Tilmann Riemenschneider," *Art Quarterly*, 1946, p. 132 and fig. 6.

65. cf. Lehfeldt-Voss, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Thüringens*, XXXIV, Jena, 1909, p. 319.

66. Georg Swarzenski, in *Städte-Jahrbuch*, I, 1921, lists as works by Riemenschneider's own hand only the *St. Jerome* and the Louvre *Virgin*. He discusses on p. 180 with fig. 21 a second figure of St. Jerome with the Lion, showing the saint seated and writing, which he dates, on p. 213, about 1470. He is evidently troubled about where to place this second figure of St. Jerome. He argues that "it lines up best with a number of South German alabaster sculptures" and continues, "one would wish to place it preferably in Franconia, at least on account of its relation to Riemenschneider's corresponding figure." His argument is evidently based on the rare iconographic occurrence of St. Jerome in alabaster sculpture rather than on stylistic relationship between the two statuettes.

67. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pp. 191 and 203 with fig. 19.

68. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, on pp. 191 and 206 with fig. 97, dates this *Pietà* about 1470 and attributes it to the Suabian-Franconian school.

69. Originally in St. Barbara, the church of the calced

Carmelites in Würzburg, demolished in 1824. Height 110 cm. Cf. Johannes Baier, *Geschichte der beiden Karmelitenklöster . . . in Würzburg*, Würzburg, 1902, p. 52. Reproduced by Carl Streit, *Tilmann Riemenschneider*, Berlin, 1888, pl. 81 in reverse, but without the modern coat of paint which the group received before being placed in the Franziskanerkirche in 1882. Cf. also *Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern*, III, Heft 12, Munich, 1915, p. 186 (erroneously giving the original location as the church of the discalced Carmelites), pl. xvii. The group is accepted as a work by Riemenschneider although its quality has often been criticized.

70. Demmler considers it to be by Riemenschneider's own hand or an old replica of such a group about 1520. Cf. Th. Demmler, *Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums*, III, Berlin, 1930, p. 175 (M. 137).

71. Swarzenski, *loc.cit.*, emphasized how much the Mergentheim *Pietà*, especially in the representation of Christ, follows an older tradition. Riemenschneider may have come in contact with this older impassioned formulation of the theme in his youth through the *Pietà* in Nordhausen am Harz (Municipal Museum), a work done about 1460.

# A NEW FACET OF LEONARDO'S WORKING PROCEDURE<sup>1</sup>

MARILYN ARONBERG

THE method used by Renaissance masters in developing their pictorial compositions was fairly uniform. They first made informal sketches, then drawings to block out the composition, then studies for parts of the composition and individual details, and finally a full-size cartoon. Leonardo da Vinci generally followed this working procedure, but in his mature periods he introduced a new element into the first phase. Toward the end of the last decade of the fifteenth century his method seems to have included not only new sketches but also references to his own earlier drawings similar in subject matter and arrangement to the new project. A study of the compositional development of Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* will show him working in this manner, and give specific instances in which he used one of his own early sheets to assist him in a work of his late Florentine period.

The painting of the Madonna and Child with St. Anne (Fig. 1) and the drawings and cartoons associated with it have always presented a problem to scholars. There has been much discussion concerning the date of the Burlington House Cartoon (Fig. 2), the possible existence of a lost Florentine cartoon and its relation to the Louvre painting, and the date of the painting itself.<sup>2</sup> The Burlington House Cartoon pictures Mary sitting on one leg of St. Anne, with the Christ Child blessing the Infant St. John who stands to the right of the group. It was originally believed that this cartoon was done as a commission for the Servite Brothers in Florence after Leonardo's return to that city in 1500, and that, dissatisfied with the composition, he did a second cartoon from which the Louvre painting was done several years later.<sup>3</sup> It has since been established that the original sketches for this subject and probably the Burlington House Cartoon itself were executed while Leonardo was still in Milan in 1498 or 1499.<sup>4</sup> And in 1501, after Leonardo had come to Florence, he was working on another cartoon, mentioned by Vasari,<sup>5</sup> and described by Fra Pietro Novellara.<sup>6</sup> This cartoon has not survived,<sup>7</sup> although from its description we know that its composition already

1. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Ludwig-Heinrich Heydenreich and Dr. Horst W. Janson for their guidance and criticism, and to thank Mr. Lynn Foersterling for his generous help in the preparation of the photographic material. Figures 1 and 5 in this article have been reproduced from Bodmer, *Leonardo, des Meisters Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, pls. 34 and 278; figures 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9 from Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, pls. 176, 175, 144, 111, 174A, and 27 respectively.

2. This study is an extension based on Dr. L. H. Heydenreich's statement of the problem, "La Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1933, 2, pp. 205ff. Additional bibliography: Alfred Marks, "The St. Anne of Leonardo da Vinci," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, second series, xliii, 1882, pp. 95ff.; M. H. Gruyer, "Léonard de Vinci au Musée du Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 11, 1887, pp. 89ff.; Sir Herbert F. Cook, "Trésors de l'art italien en Angleterre: Le carton de Léonard de Vinci à la Royal Academy," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 11, 1897, pp. 371ff.; Eugène Müntz, *Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1898, pp. 121ff.; Georg Gronau, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, ca. 1900, pp. 79ff.; Osvald Sirén, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Yale University Press, 1916, pp. 129ff.; Anny E. Popp, *Leonardo Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1928, pp. 44ff.; Heinrich Bodmer, *Leonardo, des Meisters Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Klassiker der Kunst, 1931, pp. 407-408; Bernard Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine*

*Painters*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 175ff.; Sir Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 108ff.; R. Langton Douglas, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Chicago, 1944, pp. 26ff.; A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1945, pp. 49ff.

3. Marks, Müntz, and Cook, *op.cit.*, concluded that the cartoon of which Vasari speaks was not the Burlington House Cartoon, although they did not yet realize that the lost cartoon was not for the Louvre painting.

4. Heydenreich, *op.cit.*, pp. 205ff.; Clark, *op.cit.*, pp. 108ff.

5. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-85, IV, pp. 38-39.

6. Its description is found in a letter from Fra Pietro Novellara to Isabella d'Este of April 3, 1501; quoted in Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

7. Müntz (*op.cit.*, p. 127) suggested that some fragmentary sketches of feet (Windsor Castle, 12536, 12537) are all that remain of the lost cartoon. But Clark has since proved that they are copies from the Louvre painting or its cartoon, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci at Windsor Castle*, New York, 1935, I, p. 83. Marks (*op.cit.*, p. 133) thought that the "Esterhazy Cartoon," now in Budapest, might be the lost cartoon, although he had never seen it. But this work is generally regarded as too feeble and is probably a copy done from the Louvre painting. It was owned by Fra Sebastiano Resta and sold to the Plattenberg family in 1696.



included the lamb. The final painting, it is now believed, was executed between 1507 and 1513<sup>8</sup> or 1508 and 1510,<sup>9</sup> by Leonardo and his assistants.

Our interest lies in one of the preparatory studies for the *St. Anne*, the drawing preserved in the Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre (C.R.F. 460, Fig. 5). This is the first drawing to show the motif of the lamb instead of the Infant St. John. The internal development of this sketch reveals a new and hitherto undocumented facet in the working procedure of Leonardo. In order to understand the Louvre drawing fully, it will be necessary to summarize the development of the composition of the *St. Anne* up to that point. The idea of a composition uniting two or more human forms with a small animal was not an innovation in Leonardo's repertory at the time he was working on the *St. Anne* in its later phases. This idea had occupied him as early as 1478 in his drawings of the Madonna and the Cat. Therefore I will proceed chronologically, inspecting first a few of the Madonna and Cat drawings and their compositional problems, with particular reference to one of the sketches. Then I will show the development of the *St. Anne*, beginning with the British Museum sketch (no. 1875-12-17, Fig. 3) and its verso (Fig. 4), through the Louvre drawing mentioned above and the Venice sketch (Venice Academy, no. 230, Fig. 8).

The drawings of the Madonna and Child playing with a cat seem to have been done around 1478-1480.<sup>10</sup> From the first, Leonardo portrayed the Christ Child struggling playfully with the cat, the tension of their struggle resulting in a variety of poses. For example, in the inked silver-point sheet in the Uffizi, no. 421E,<sup>11</sup> the tormented animal pulls away from the baby with such force that the child must assume a contrapposto position in order to retain it. There are several sheets on which Leonardo studies the cat harassed, petted, or simply held by the Christ Child, adding the Virgin from time to time.<sup>12</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark finds these studies "so perfectly fresh and natural that . . . they show, as nothing else in his work, a direct and happy approach to life; and they show his matchless quickness of vision, which allowed him to convey every movement or gesture with the certainty and unconscious grace of a great dancer performing an easy step."<sup>13</sup>

The one tiny sketch (British Museum, no. 1860-6-16-98, Fig. 6) which is of particular interest to us is found in the center right of its sheet. It is the Christ Child who is seated and holding a cat. The child turns his head to the right in three-quarter view. He hugs the cat with his right arm, while the left, shown in two positions, is first raised and bent and then lowered and straight. His right leg extends downward, the other is bent at the knee in a position very typical of Leonardo. The cat, again in an uncomfortable situation, stretches across the torso of the child and finds his head and forepaws wedged between the right arm and head of the infant.

The most advanced of the Madonna and Cat drawings,<sup>14</sup> probably done in 1480, shows that Leonardo had tremendous interest in the interlocking forces of all these figures in relation to each other, and had given his studies a high degree of finish. It should be obvious that these studies already show Leonardo's struggle with the problem of placing three energetic figures together in a compact group. His growing interest in conveying great depth through the forms themselves and their modeling can be seen in the change from heavy merging ink lines, to various tones and intensities of rich brown wash. It is with this same problem of interlocking plastic forms in space that he is concerned almost twenty years later when he takes up the theme of Madonna and Child with St. Anne.

Having given up the more traditional Italian systems of representing the St. Anne theme,<sup>15</sup>

8. Heydenreich, *op.cit.*, p. 208.

9. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 151.

10. The style of these drawings is quite similar to drawings of two heads and a fragmentary inscription carrying the date 1478, *ibid.*, p. 20.

11. Popham, *op.cit.*, pl. 10.

12. *ibid.*, pls. 11, 12, 13, in the British Museum, and pl. 14, in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

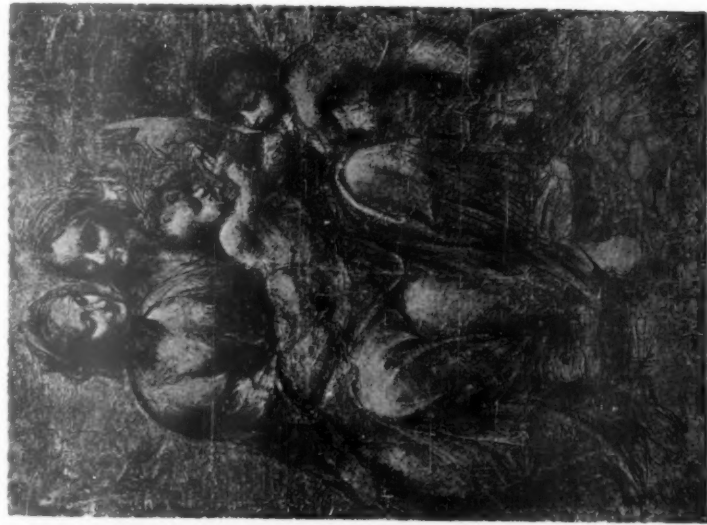
13. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

14. Popham, *op.cit.*, pls. 9a and 9b, British Museum, and pl. 8b in Mrs. A. H. Pollen's collection.

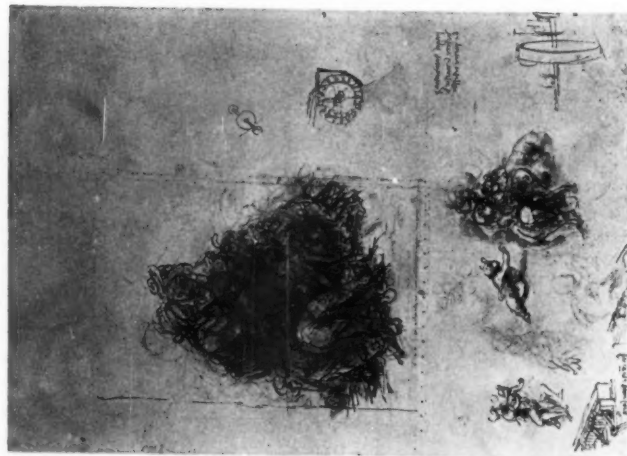
15. According to Heydenreich (*op.cit.*, p. 216), there were two fundamental types of representations of the Holy Family with St. Anne in Italian art from the Trecento until well advanced in the sixteenth century. The first consisted of the group of figures rising in tiers, one behind the other. Examples



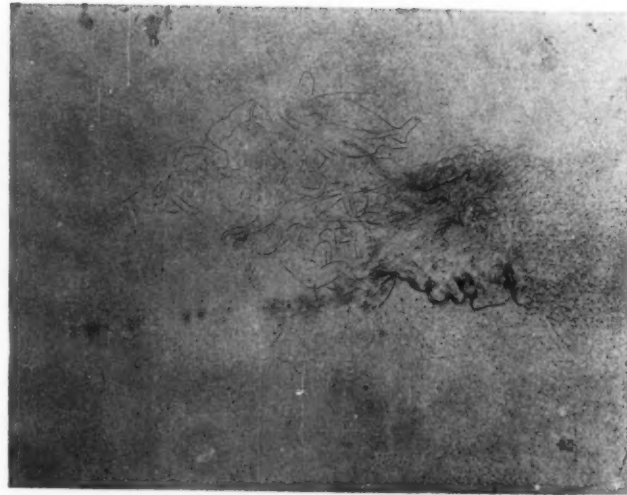
1. Paris, Louvre, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*



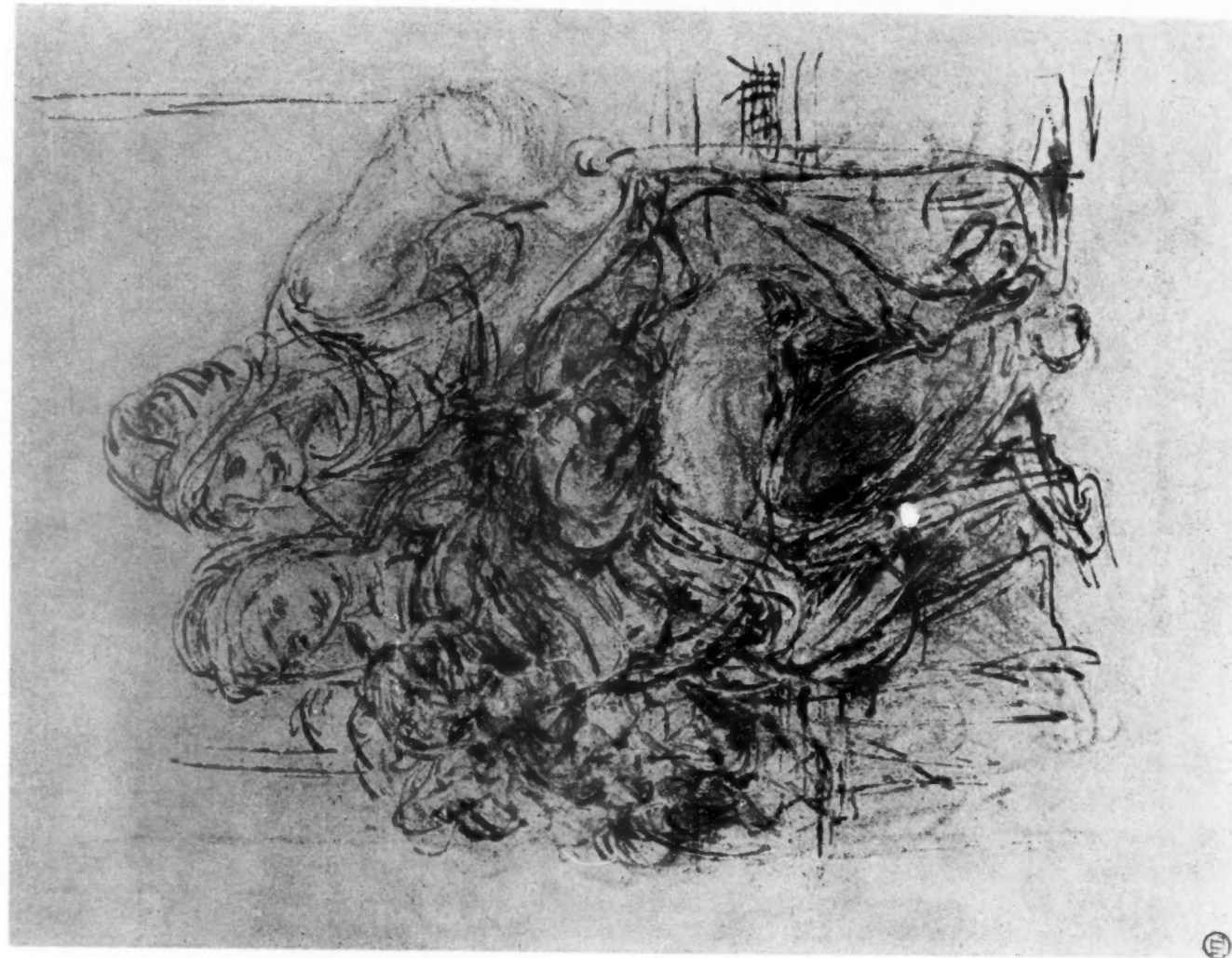
2. London, Royal Academy, Burlington House Cartoon



3. London, British Museum, Studies for *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*



4. Verso of Figure 3



5. Paris, Louvre, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*





6. London, British Museum, *Christ Child and Cat* (detail)



7. Paris, Louvre, *Sketch* (detail)



8. Venice, Academy, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*



9. *Maiden with a Unicorn* (verso of Figure 6)



Leonardo was faced with the extremely difficult task of placing a full-grown woman on the lap of another in three-dimensional space, using natural scale. The success of this task depended on the satisfactory placing of Mary on the knees of St. Anne, with the figure of the Christ Child in the act of blessing the baby St. John completing the scene. Dr. L. H. Heydenreich has emphasized that the problem of the position of the legs of the two women remains the foundation of all the subsequent variations.<sup>16</sup>

As was mentioned above, the first study that has come down to us for the Burlington House Cartoon is the British Museum sketch (Fig. 3), done in ink over black chalk.<sup>17</sup> It is easy to see by the many retracings with what violence Leonardo attacked the problem of arranging of this complicated group. The original solution was to balance Mary momentarily on the leg of St. Anne, and to place the child twisting across in front of the two women. At the bottom of the sheet Leonardo sketched two more variations. The one to the left shows Mary straddling the legs of her mother; awkward as it is, this is an exciting moment of physical equilibrium. The one to the right introduces the idea of the raised foot with its support marked very clearly by a circle, as Dr. Heydenreich has noticed.<sup>18</sup> This idea was used and developed more articulately in the Burlington House Cartoon itself. The main group in the British Museum sketch shows us that the definitive formula of the Burlington House Cartoon was reached only after many changes and experiments with each figure.

The question of why Leonardo was dissatisfied with the Burlington House Cartoon need not concern us here. In any event he did continue his work on the composition. Dr. Heydenreich believes that after completing the Burlington House Cartoon, Leonardo returned to the British Museum sketch and added the motif of Mary sitting obliquely on the lap of St. Anne. For upon close examination, one can see on the robe of St. Anne Mary's raised and crossed leg.<sup>19</sup> Since this sheet was becoming more and more indecipherable, Leonardo turned the sheet over and traced the essential strokes of the preceding study on the verso (Fig. 4). This tracing is in consequence reversed. Leonardo apparently had it before him when he started a new study, the Louvre drawing (Fig. 5). For what had been the left arm of Mary in the verso tracing, now appears as St. Anne's arm.<sup>20</sup> Also in the new drawing Mary is seated diagonally across St. Anne's lap, with her ankles crossed.

Leonardo's next major step was to find a satisfactory position for the Christ Child, and it is because he labored on this problem so vehemently that the Louvre drawing is now almost unreadable. It seems that originally the child assumed much the same position as he had in the British Museum sketch, although here reversed and leaning to the left. His legs can be seen kicking up playfully immediately above Mary's thighs. On the left side of the group, Dr. Heydenreich has observed two distinct positions of the child; "... dans une première conception, l'Enfant, vu de dos, tourne la tête vers sa mère (notez le contour de la tête, dessinée en profil perdu). Ce motif, simple scène entre la mère et l'enfant a été modifié: la seconde conception, définitive cella-là, nous montre le corps de l'Enfant de face, le visage tourné vers le spectateur [in three-quarter view], les bras

of this type are found in the works of Masaccio, Uffizi, reproduced in Raymond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1924, x, fig. 259; Cosimo Rosselli, Berlin Museum, *ibid.*, xi, fig. 360; Perugino, Gallery Marseilles, *ibid.*, xiv, fig. 247, Fra Bartolomeo, San Marco, Florence, Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna* (Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 1-3) Düsseldorf, 1930, pl. 5, opp. p. 80; Sodoma, Camprena near Pienza, *ibid.*, fig. 165, opp. p. 234; Correggio, Tratta collection, Milan, *ibid.*, fig. 166, opp. p. 235. The second type shows the characters in a line, one next to the other; examples are by Benozzo Gozzoli, Pisa Museum, van Marle, *op.cit.*, xi, fig. 133; Francia, National Gallery, London, Williamson, *Francesco Raibolini called Francia*, 1901, pl. 34, opp. p. 110; Andrea Sansovino, St. Agostino, Rome, Kleinschmidt, *op.cit.*, pl. 4, opp. p. 64.

16. *op.cit.*, p. 210.

17. Anny E. Popp (*op.cit.*, p. 44) believes that this drawing is a continuation of the compositional scheme of the Burlington House Cartoon. She says that in the small sketches below the main group, the child is seen climbing down just as he does in order to play with the lamb in the Louvre painting. But as Heydenreich (*loc.cit.*) has pointed out, there are compositional ideas that arise in the main group of the British Museum sketch which are half solved in the tiny sketches at the bottom right and only fully resolved in the cartoon itself. See below.

18. *ibid.*

19. *ibid.*, p. 213.

20. This particular gesture is retained and used in the Louvre painting.

tenant un agneau. Nous avons donc ici la version définitive du thème pictural: à la scène de bénédiction de saint Jean, du carton de Londres, s'est substitué le motif de l'Enfant Jésus jouant avec l'agneau."<sup>21</sup>

But this, I believe, was not the end of Leonardo's struggle with the position of the child. Looking in the lower left corner of this drawing one can see lines sketching a rectangular architectural base. And on this support is firmly planted a child's foot which continues into a leg. This leg is in exact proportion to a rather chubby torso which appears above. The torso in turn fits perfectly with the already existing head. In immediate juxtaposition with the child's head is the lamb's head, with its muzzle pointing upward and to the left. This expressive movement of the lamb is caused by the infant's right arm which has caught him decisively under the chin.

Some scholars have noted that with the introduction of the animal Leonardo resumes the exact problem with which he had been grappling more than twenty years before in the *Madonna and the Cat*.<sup>22</sup> They have shown the general similarities in iconography and in composition. But there exists a much more direct connection between the two. There is a drawing for the *Madonna and Cat* that coincides exactly with one particular pose of the Christ Child on his mother's lap. This is the little drawing mentioned before (Fig. 6), and it is duplicated in the third position of the child in the Louvre drawing (outlined in ink in Fig. 7). Comparing the two sketches (Figs. 6 and 7) it can be seen how the right legs, the torsos, and the general position of the right arms coincide. And even more perfectly matched are the heads and their relationship to the heads of the animals. The major dissimilarity in outline can be accounted for by the fact that in the early drawing the child holds a cat which looks at the spectator, while in the Louvre drawing he holds a lamb whose snout is seen in profile.

The compositional problems of the *Madonna and Cat* and the *St. Anne* have many intrinsic similarities; enough in fact to cause the great resemblances in many of the solutions.<sup>23</sup> But in this case, where the positions are so nearly identical, one must conclude that Leonardo had the early sketch before him when making the third correction of the Louvre drawing. And indeed, by following the development of the *St. Anne* composition one step further, we shall find final confirmation of this hypothesis.

Leonardo found the Louvre sketch compositionally unsuccessful,<sup>24</sup> and the drawing too overworked to permit further development. So once again he began on a new sheet. There is preserved in the Venice Academy (no. 230) another sketch of the Madonna and Child with *St. Anne*, attributed to Leonardo (Fig. 8). This drawing may be by Leonardo, although the somewhat monotonous parallel hatchings and the lifeless outlines seem to indicate the work of a copyist. If it is not from the master's own hand, it is at least a very direct copy which still shows the artist's indecision about the position of *St. Anne*'s head. The Virgin is again seated across her mother's lap but now turned with her back to the spectator and her face in profile. The child is on her lap in the space between the two women's torsos. He leans forward and reaches out to grasp the lamb which now lies on the ground to the right of the group. Popham has pointed out that the position of the lamb repeats almost exactly the position of the unicorn, without the horn, in a drawing from his early period (Fig. 9).<sup>25</sup> In both cases the animals lie at the feet and to the right of seated human forms. The front part of their bodies are in the foreground, while their midsections and hind quarters curve back into space. Both animals raise their heads in rapport with their human company. But the decisive feature of this drawing of the Maiden with a Unicorn is that it is on the verso

21. *op.cit.*, p. 214.

22. *ibid.*, and Popham, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

23. The final version of the *Madonna and Cat* (Popham, *op.cit.*, pl. 8b) and the Louvre painting both show the identical device of interlocking the figures through the action of their arms, though in the painting the progression of arms creates a diagonal pattern, whereas it is horizontal in the wash drawing.

24. "... le groupe de l'Enfant jouant avec l'agneau sur le sein de sa mère était trop lourd, trop massif, la composition portait exagérément sur l'un des côtés, et surtout l'agneau était d'une taille qui ne permettait pas de l'employer, comme le chat, dans la structure de la scène" (Heydenreich, *op.cit.*, pp. 214-215).

25. *op.cit.*, p. 51.

of the same sheet on which our little Child and Cat drawing appears (British Museum, no. 1860-6-16-98 recto and verso).

One can now see within the preparatory sketches for the *St. Anne* two very direct references to two drawings that were over twenty years old, both of which are on the same sheet. The only possible explanation is that Leonardo had this sheet with him while he was struggling with the composition of the *St. Anne*. Evidently he looked first at the recto of the early sheet, while working on the Louvre drawing. And later he turned the sheet over and used the verso as an inspiration for the Venice drawing. From these observations one is able to draw several conclusions concerning Leonardo's working habits.

It is a well-known characteristic of Leonardo that he had a few specific themes which remained intriguing and provocative to him throughout his career. The figure of the horse is first documented in his work in the *Adoration of the Magi* of around 1481.<sup>26</sup> It remains with him as both a specimen of anatomy and a vessel of expression even beyond the time of the *Battle of Anghiari* of 1503-1504. As a matter of fact, the motif of the battling horsemen, the major theme of the *Battle of Anghiari*, already appears in the *Adoration* in the right background<sup>27</sup> and even in the pen and ink over metalpoint perspective study for that background.<sup>28</sup> Also some studies of the individual soldiers' heads for the same battle scene<sup>29</sup> recall strongly some tiny sketches of enraged men (and animals)<sup>30</sup> of the pre-Milanese period. Well known, too, is the theme of the rearing horse. We have just seen its first appearance in the *Adoration*, and we know that Leonardo tried again and again to utilize it in his commission for the Trivulzio monument of 1508-1511.<sup>31</sup> These examples show only a few of Leonardo's recurring motifs, but they are sufficient to prove their frequency within his work.

Now if Leonardo had his drawings for the *Madonna and Cat* and the *Maiden with a Unicorn* before him when he did his studies for the *St. Anne*, there is reason to assume that the other similarities between his early and late drawings do not result from chance alone. Perhaps Leonardo returned to his early sketches as a point of departure for new and expanded versions of themes that once more haunted him. Possibly in his own never-consummated search for perfection he felt that each theme, no matter how developed, was never fully achieved or exploited, and was therefore still capable of being resolved. The exact relationship between early and late drawings and the existence of other duplicates remain to be shown. But for now one may believe that Leonardo kept his collection of drawings close at hand and thus was able to consult it for the ideas and conclusions of his former years.<sup>32</sup>

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26. *ibid.*, pls. 30 and 31.

27. *ibid.*, pl. 36.

28. *ibid.*, pl. 53.

29. *ibid.*, pls. 198 and 199.

30. *ibid.*, pls. 23 and 24.

31. *ibid.*, pls. 90, 91, 101 and 102.

32. An interesting confirmation of this hypothesis is to be found in Leonardo's *Trattato*, in which he strongly advises the painter to preserve his sketchbooks for future reference—undoubtedly reflecting Leonardo's own practice: "Perciò, Quando tu hauerai imparato bene prospettiva et harai à mente tutte le membra e corpi delle cose, sia uago spesso uolte nel tuo andarti à spasso di uedere e considerare i siti et li atti delli homini in

nel parlare, in nel contendere, o'ridere, o'azzuffarsi insieme, che atti fieno in loro, et che atti facciano i circostanti, ispartitori o'ueditori d'esse cose; e quelli nottare con breui segni in questa forma su'un tuo piccolo libbretto, il quale tu debbi sempre portar con teo; e sia de carte tinte, accio non l'habbi à scanzellare, ma muttare di uechie in un nuouo, che queste non sonno cose da essere scangellate, anzi con grande diligentia risserbate, per che gli è tante le infinite forme et atti delle cose, che la memoria non è cappace à rittenerle; onde queste risserberai come tuoi adiutori e maestri." Codex Urbinas 1270, fols. 58v., 59r. Cf. Ludwig, *Quellenschriften fuer Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna 1882, xv, 173, pp. 210, 212.



# PAUL CHENAVARD<sup>1</sup>

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ON AN April evening in 1848, M. Ledru-Rollin, Minister of the Interior in the new French revolutionary government, had two visitors.<sup>2</sup> In the midst of his pressing duties he had found time to grant an interview to his friend Charles Blanc, the Director of Beaux-Arts, and the painter, Paul Chenavard. It was their hope that the minister would commission Chenavard to decorate the Pantheon with a cycle of historical subjects, the sketches for which the artist had under his arm. Ledru-Rollin looked at them one by one, listening to the exposition of each with careful attention. It was a long recital, for the dawn had come up over the city before it was done, but a deep impression had been made. Two days later, apparently on his own authority, the minister signed a decree awarding the gigantic task to "Citizen Chenavard," the mysterious and really almost unknown artist from Lyon.<sup>3</sup> Thus was begun one of the most bizarre and ill-fated enterprises in the history of western art. Had this panorama of human destiny been installed, it could not thereafter have failed to attract the attention of the learned, while simply mystifying the casual spectator. Instead, its forgotten fragments lie rolled up in the basement of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, while the name of its author can scarcely be found in any of the innumerable histories of nineteenth century French art. Yet only an accident of history prevented its being placed in its intended location, the accident of the return of the building to the Church at the time of the *coup d'état* in 1851. Its substance was far too unorthodox, not to say heretical, for acceptance by the clergy. When, in 1885, St. Genevieve once more became the Pantheon, Chenavard was too old and angry to take up the task again.

But the reasons for the oblivion into which his work has fallen lie deeper than this. The subsequent movement of French art was in a direction away from his esoteric historical romanticism toward a concept of art for art's sake which effectively ruled out any continuing interest in painting of this kind. Nevertheless, the series is still worthy of attention for a number of reasons, among which are the facts that it represents the only full-scale pictorial expression by a Frenchman of a type of mystical thinking much in vogue in Europe in the early nineteenth century, and that when completed, it would have formed the largest single architectural decorative scheme ever achieved by one man. The following account is an attempt to reintroduce the paradoxical figure of the Lyonnais painter and give a summary idea of the scheme of human affairs which he earnestly hoped would be an enduring monument to the greatness of his own country and the nobility of mankind generally. This visual exposition of universal history is too formidable an effort to be allowed to remain permanently effaced from the record of the art of the last century.

1. An article submitted for the issue in honor of Charles Rufus Morey as listed in THE ART BULLETIN, December 1950.

2. The following article represents a preliminary survey of the life and work of this unusual painter. Many conclusions in it must remain tentative pending a careful study of material available only in France. A brief mention of Chenavard's significance is included in the author's recent book, *French Painting Between the Past and the Present*, Princeton University Press, 1951; but in view of the almost complete obscurity into which both the artist and his work have fallen, it seemed wise to present a somewhat fuller account here. Further information or suggestions as to interpretation will be most welcome.

3. The text of this decree reads as follows: "Il sera exécuté dans l'intérieur du Panthéon une suite de peintures murales par

le citoyen Paul Chenavard, et sous sa direction, conformément aux projets et aux esquisses qui ont été mises sous les yeux du ministre. Sur la demande du citoyen Chenavard, il lui est alloué, pendant toute la durée des travaux, une somme de 4,000 francs par an. Le citoyen Chenavard est autorisé à s'adjoindre les artistes qu'il jugera convenable pour la meilleure et plus prompte exécution desdits travaux. Le maximum de la rétribution des artistes employés à ces travaux sera de dix francs par jour, les frais matériels étant supportés par l'État. Sur la demande du citoyen Chenavard, le ministre se réserve la faculté de suspendre le travail commencé après examen fait par une commission nommée par lui." Quoted from Ph. de Chennevières, *Les décorations du Panthéon* (extrait de *L'artiste*), Paris, 1885, p. 63.

Paul Marc Joseph Chenavard was born in Lyon on December 9, 1808, of a bourgeois family in comfortable circumstances.<sup>4</sup> This financial security probably had an important effect on the course of his life, for since he never had to earn a living by his art, he remained free to follow the dictates of his varied interests, thinking a great deal but painting rather little. Along with a certain wealth, he inherited from his father a strong liberal inclination coupled with a distaste for the Bourbons.

He grew into an intelligent, studious, moody young man whose inquiring mind led him to consider various possible careers such as those of writer, mathematician, traveler, and even ascetic, abandoning the latter after some personal experimentation. The final decision was in favor of art, a choice which brought him to Paris in 1825 to begin his studies. He entered the École des Beaux-Arts and tried the studios of Hersent, Ingres, and Delacroix, but much of his time was spent in museums and libraries. Eventually, on the advice of Ingres, he betook himself to Italy in 1827 for an intensive examination of the masters in Milan, Florence, Rome, and Venice. His notebooks were soon filled with copies of nearly every important fresco in the country, sketches which remained so fixed in his prodigious pictorial memory that his work was filled with them ever after. He may have met Hegel in Rome, a spur to his historical interests which were growing steadily. In addition, he took a considerable interest in the work of the German school, even copying Overbeck's murals at the Villa Massimi.

After about two years he returned to Paris, soon attempting his first "peinture d'histoire," a large canvas depicting *Luther Before the Diet of Worms*, which Silvestre reports was good in parts but lacking in compositional unity.<sup>5</sup> At this time he appears to have associated with the famous group of the Cénacle, a rather surprising distinction for so young and unknown a man, but there is reason to believe that he already possessed the brilliant conversational powers which were later to become almost legendary.<sup>6</sup> Certainly the influence of romanticism is very clear in the sketch for a picture of the National Convention which he painted for a competition held in 1831 for the decoration of the Salle des Séances de la Chambre in the Palais Bourbon. Gros and Delacroix both gave warm praise to its companion piece, *Marat Apostrophizing the Marquis of Dreux-Brezé*, although it was not acceptable to Louis Philippe for political reasons.<sup>7</sup> The rough brushwork and shadowy handling of the Convention sketch reveal a genuine talent clearly influenced by the bold technique of Delacroix. Unfortunately, Chenavard presently abandoned this manner in favor of a colder one modeled on the Germans, a change which was in keeping with his growing philosophical preoccupations, but had an unfortunate effect on the artistic merit of his later work. His romanticism took the form of historical speculation rather than pictorial individualism.

This interest in the story of society was rapidly becoming a dominant force in his life, leading him to declare that contemporary art was in a fatal decline because it had ceased to concern itself with great concepts and had descended to the exploitation of the inferior mode of landscape. To develop his ideas still further, he returned to Rome and the influence of Overbeck and Cornelius whose intellectualism seemed to offer the perfect vehicle for his plan to compose a vast scheme of universal history. He searched everywhere for pertinent material, storing up a profusion of ideas which, as will be seen later, were eventually fused into a somewhat bewildering whole. Mythology,

4. In addition to the short notices in the standard reference works such as Thieme-Becker (which, incidentally, incorrectly gives the date of birth as 1807 instead of 1808), the material for the facts of Chenavard's life have been drawn mainly from the following: Théophile Silvestre, *Histoire des artistes vivants français et étrangers*, Paris, 1856; Charles Blanc, *Ville de Lyon. Exposition des cartons de Paul Chenavard pour la décoration du Panthéon*, Paris, 1876; Joseph Buche, *L'école mystique de Lyon. 1776-1847*, Paris, 1935; Eugène Vial, "Chenavard et Soulayr," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-lettres, et Arts de Lyon*, 3me. sér., xvii, 1921, pp. 95-125; Paul Mariéton, *Joséphine Soulayr et la pléiade lyonnaise*, Paris, 1884. Apparently Mariéton had a large collection of notes which he

intended to use for a biography of his friend, but the book was never written and he left directions for the destruction of the notes at the time of his death.

5. The present location of this picture is not known.

6. cf. Silvestre, *op.cit.*, p. 113. Mariéton, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-139, mentions his friendship with the literary great of the day.

7. The exact history of these pictures is not clear. Louis Philippe objected to the representation of Philippe-Égalité conversing with Marat in the scene with Dreux-Brezé. The canvas later came into the possession of M. Thiers, then of M. Ledru-Rollin, and finally of Napoleon III. See Silvestre, *op.cit.*, p. 114, and Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 103. The painting of the Convention is in Lyon.



science, religion, and history were all called upon for evidence of a circular movement of events beginning with Adam and ending in destruction followed by rebirth, infused, apparently, with an underlying theory of metempsychosis.

In 1841, some time after returning from Rome, he exhibited a *Martyrdom of St. Polycarpus*,<sup>8</sup> followed five years later by a painting of *Hell* which was seen and admired by Théophile Thoré and Baudelaire.<sup>9</sup> Possibly this design was the same one later used for one of the projected mosaics in the Pantheon series.

He was now in the prime of life, and, judging by the somewhat fragmentary descriptions of his character which are available, was a most unusual man. He had exhibited so little that he was hardly known to the public and the majority of Parisian artists, but Delacroix, Baudelaire, Charles Blanc, Gautier, Théophile Silvestre, and later Courbet counted him as a friend, taking keen pleasure in his conversation.<sup>10</sup> He possessed an immense fund of information backed by a memory so perfect that he quoted continually from a wide variety of sources. Imaginative, pessimistic, quixotic, he was the source of an endless sequence of unusual ideas which delighted and entertained his intimates. Baudelaire reports that there was no one with whom Delacroix loved so much to talk, in spite of the fact that the two were seldom, if ever, in agreement.<sup>11</sup>

The very brilliance of his mind was the cause of a major weakness: he could never settle down to one pursuit or line of action for very long. Silvestre says he continually erected systems merely for the pleasure of destroying them at once, a habit which led to his being nicknamed "The Great Desolator."<sup>12</sup> His melancholic, cynical attitude is revealed in his later remarks to the Lyonnais poet Soulayr on the subject of the preservation of his paintings in his native city.<sup>13</sup> He had planned to leave his money and pictures to the local museum, and Soulayr advised him to put in the deed of gift a provision for the perpetual maintenance of the cartoons in the room which was to be set aside for them. The artist replied gloomily, "I am perfectly aware of what will be the result of [my] carelessness [i.e. in omitting such a provision], but what would you? I consider myself a negligible quantity and quite naturally forgettable. When I read that I hold a good position among contemporary artists, I am only astonished at the sagacity of the critic. It's because, at heart, I incline to think that everything men do amounts to very little along with that which is called glory." He is reported to have frequently remarked, "Why bother? Nothing is worth any trouble . . . everything must be done so as to do nothing and be nothing."<sup>14</sup> The plan for his historical cycle was the great exception to his lack of purpose, but at the same time it was a justification of his pessimism, for in the end it indeed "amounted to very little" in the world's opinion. He was, in short, something of a nihilist, though he apparently stopped short of its most drastic conclusions by hinting at the coming of a better age when the present one had passed away.

His ideas on painting were not such as to endear him to our own times, for he despised "colorists" and felt that the mere creation of pictorial beauty was a very slender excuse for the creation of art. The murals and mosaics for the Pantheon were, except for the *Social Palingenesis*, to have been executed in grisaille, a decision which naturally resulted in widespread criticism to the effect that he might be a thinker but was obviously no painter. He later confessed that this objection was probably well taken, but he still felt that monochrome was most suitable for his purpose: "I planned not to paint the compositions but only draw them, and, to amuse the eye, to color the architecture in the fashion of the ancients in such a manner that I came back to their system of framing monochrome pictures by means of colored and gilded columns, capitals, etc. [This] system had the advantage of absolutely separating the character of the decoration of philosophic pantheons from that of

8. Silvestre, *op.cit.*, p. 114. The picture is now in Lyon.

9. Théophile Thoré, *Salons de T. Thoré*, Paris, 1868, pp. 350-351; Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," *Curiosités esthétiques* (ed. Lévy), Paris, 1889, p. 171.

10. Mariéton (*op.cit.*, p. 139) says further: "... ses liaisons avec Musset, Sainte-Beuve, Béranger, Hugo, George Sand et

d'autres illustres sont célèbres." Cf. also Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 98.

11. Charles Baudelaire, "Eugène Delacroix," *L'art romantique* (ed. Lévy) Paris, 1885, p. 38.

12. According to Silvestre, Mariéton and others.

13. Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

14. *ibid.*, p. 114.



catholic churches. . . ."<sup>15</sup> Chenavard was interested in appealing not to the senses of the spectator, but to his mind alone, in which extreme position he undoubtedly erred. Even Charles Blanc, a devoted friend and admirer, pointed out that philosophy had led him into abstractions too far removed from life to be effective, so that some of the cartoons were only pictorial without being spiritual.<sup>16</sup> The artist admitted the strength of his speculative tendencies: "The inconvenience of my type of mind," he said, "is that it makes all my ideas encyclopedic to such an extent that they become impossible to execute without a great deal of time and many assistants or pupils. . . ."<sup>17</sup> When he was old he decided that his work had been "too exclusively devoted to the pursuit of ideas, and too little to their professional execution."<sup>18</sup>

Considered purely as a painter's painter he would, therefore, deserve little consideration even though he could sometimes design effectively (*Death of Socrates*, *Virgil Reading His Eclogues*) and had a certain mastery over the human figure in every conceivable pose (*The Deluge* [Fig. 1], *Hell*). Many critics pointed out at the time that a number of his forms had appeared previously in the work of Michelangelo, Correggio, and others, an objection which can be readily substantiated by comparing the figure of Venus in the lower right-hand corner of *The Divine Tragedy* (Fig. 2) with Correggio's *Antiope* or the Eve in the scene of the Fall on the Sistine ceiling. The central group of the Trinity is likewise reminiscent, being based generally on Dürer's famous painting in Vienna. It would, however, be a mistake to put these reused figures down to simple plagiarism, for Chenavard was above any practice so petty. As mentioned previously, he had what amounted to a photographic memory charged with a multitude of details from the works of the painters he admired, and he made heavy demands on it.<sup>19</sup> A more correct interpretation of Chenavard's practice would be to say that these poses constituted a repertory acquired by diligent study, not so much of the model as of other paintings, for use as a pictorial language, just as educated men used to employ apt quotations from Horace, Ovid, or Plato.

The great defect was not plagiarism, nor even a lack of color sense, but an overwhelming aesthetic dullness. The odor of the lamp hangs about his work; the wiry line which bounds each contour has so little life that the figures seem more like lay forms than living beings. Their interest derives from symbolic significance, and since this significance is often obscure, the uninstructed observer is left with very little to attract his eye.

In 1848, as described above, he received the great opportunity for which he had so long been preparing, and plunged into the work with a zeal quite different from his usual cynical inactivity. He gathered several assistants, all former students of the Academy in Rome, on whom he thrust a sort of anonymity, controlling and correcting their work after his sketches until the separate hands virtually disappeared.<sup>20</sup> He apparently felt that he was a sort of priest in the new religion of his philosophic art, dedicated along with his helpers to the service of the state.<sup>21</sup> Thirty thousand francs had been placed at his disposal, but not all of even this modest sum was ever spent, for he asked only ten francs a day for his labor. The news of this selfless devotion to his "philosophic pantheon" created something of a sensation among the other artists who maintained that he was cheapening the profession by working for so little. They complained for other reasons as well, since Chenavard was an unknown, an outsider, and they could see no reason why he should have been chosen over them for this most important of all commissions under the new government. A petition

15. *ibid.*, pp. 107-108. The reference to "philosophic pantheons" is interesting, for Chenavard had conceived of a whole series of provincial pantheons to accommodate the remains of the great of each locality. After a hundred years the greatest ones could be voted into the chief pantheon in Paris. To each local center of this cult of the dead was to be attached a university so the young might not only be educated but spurred on by the examples of their illustrious predecessors whose graves were thus near by.

16. Chas. Blanc, *Exposition des cartons de Paul Chenavard*, pp. 23-24.

17. Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

18. *ibid.*, p. 109.

19. cf. the resemblances between Poussin's *Triumph of Amphytrite* and Raphael's *Galatea*.

20. His assistants at various times were: Papéty, Bézard, Brémond, and Comairas.

21. Chenavard's religious beliefs were of a pantheistic rather than an orthodox sort. Vial quotes him as saying "Le panthéisme malgré ses prodigieuses difficultés est la théorie la plus inévitable de l'esprit humain" (Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 117).

bearing hundreds of names was circulated asking for his removal, but the government stood fast and the work went on.

It was, however, destined for failure. A movement, headed by Montalembert, was inaugurated to have the building returned to the Church, and after the artist had been at work for some four years, this was successful. On hearing the news, Chenavard, fearful for the effect it would have on his project, called on the Archbishop of Paris, who treated him with the utmost suavity, even coming to see the cartoons in the painter's studio.<sup>22</sup> The ideas involved, however, were far too anticlerical to be acceptable, and the whole enterprise was shortly discontinued. The size of this disappointment would be difficult to exaggerate, and Vial says that it made a confirmed anti-Catholic out of Chenavard, who was already none too religious.<sup>23</sup> A number of the cartoons were shown in the Salon of '53, the first opportunity the public had had to see them, although they had heard something of the sensation they had been creating in various quarters. The reaction was, in the main, very favorable, although some critics, noting their obvious obscurity, referred to them as "rebuses." The painter was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and two years later at the *Exposition Universelle*, when a still larger number of his pictures was shown, he received a first class medal, but all this praise did not repair the ruin of his life's hope. Vial reports that he was still working on some of the designs as late as 1885, unable to let them alone even though he knew they would never grace any public wall outside of a museum.<sup>24</sup>

His next, and last, Salon picture appeared in 1869 under the title, *The Divine Tragedy* (Fig. 2). It was, in a way, the key to his philosophic position, an epilogue to the Pantheon cycle, expressing in veiled terms his antireligious sentiments and his faith in human reason. Originally placed in the famous Salon Carrée where it attracted much attention, it was later moved—probably at the instigation of the clerical authorities—to an obscure gallery in the rear where only the persevering could find it. With this last disappointment, the public career of Chenavard virtually came to an end. There is mention of a *Judith* and a *Love and Death* from the later years,<sup>25</sup> but their present whereabouts is unknown. He retired to the life of a gentleman of leisure in Lyon, traveling from time to time, but painting very little. His cartoons, first destined for the museum at Amiens, were finally assigned to Lyon where, in 1876, they were shown together for the last time, accompanied by a brochure written by the devoted Charles Blanc.<sup>26</sup> When the Marquis de Chennevières-Pointel, the Director of Beaux-Arts in the 'seventies, planned a new mural scheme for the church, he offered the decoration of the apse to Chenavard, but the invitation was declined—having had the whole as his province, a little piece was not enough.<sup>27</sup> And so both painter and pictures were lost sight of, presently to be forgotten by all except his friends in Lyon. Victor Laprade, Soulayr, Mariéton, and a few others formed a circle with whom he met on Saturdays for his beloved conversation, being known to them as "le vieux chêne."<sup>28</sup> To the city he left his money, his prints, and his own works, the latter to be shown in a room set apart for the purpose, called the Pantheon Room. Soulayr's advice in regard to this bequest, which has already been referred to, was prophetic, for six years after the painter's death in 1895 the cartoons were taken down, rolled up, and put in the basement. It was indeed a modest finale for so ambitious a drama.

Space does not admit of any detailed account of the Pantheon or the decorative schemes which were successively adopted and discarded according to the shifting purposes for which the building was to be used.<sup>29</sup> The plan and elevation must, however, be briefly described in order that the

22. For this episode see Silvestre, *op.cit.*, pp. 143-144.

23. Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

24. *ibid.*, p. 109.

25. Mentioned in Thieme-Becker.

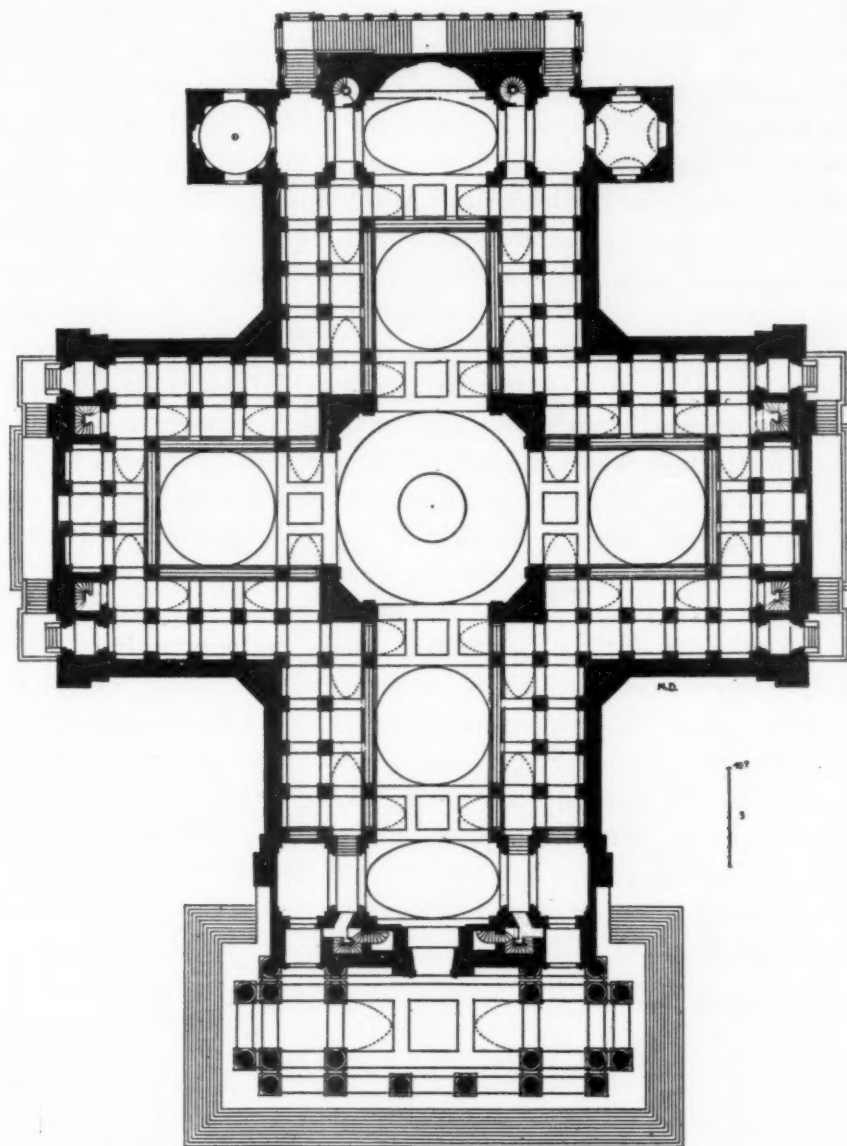
26. Blanc, *op.cit.*

27. This new scheme is described in detail in Chennevières, *op.cit.*, pp. 70ff.

28. This group was the "Pléiade Lyonnaise" described by Mariéton in the book already cited. The nickname is cited by Vial who says it was given him by Gautier (Vial, *op.cit.*, p. 102).

29. Chennevières, in his account of the Pantheon already cited, gives a lengthy and detailed account of these from the construction of the building down to the late nineteenth cen-

placement of the various scenes and statues projected for it can be visualized (*text figure*). Essentially, the plan is that of a Greek cross with the addition of a sort of narthex at the entrance and an extra oblong bay in front of the apse. It measures one hundred and ten meters by eighty-four and a half. At the crossing is a central dome resting on pendentives supported by four massive piers, and lesser domes cover each arm of the cross. A continuous Corinthian colonnade runs clear



Plan of the Pantheon, Paris.

around the interior except across the entrance and in front of the apse, while in each of the arms, additional columns are set forward in a second rank to support the domes above. Matching each support of the colonnade, is an attached column in the wall between which are rectangular panels to the number of forty. Adding the three panels in the apse and the two which flank the central entrance, there are forty-five such spaces along the whole length of the wall. Each one is divided a little over half-way up by a horizontal string course forming two rectangles, the lower one of which is eleven feet by eighteen, the upper, eleven feet square. The main sequence of subjects was

ture. Probably no other building ever had as many different plans for its decoration. Prior to Chenavard's effort, the most

ambitious cycle was the one proposed by Quatremère de Quincy during the revolutionary period.



to have been placed on the lower panels surmounted in the upper section by a continuous frieze-like composition running right around the interior. The area of this part of the decorative scheme alone was in excess of fourteen thousand square feet.

On the sides of the main piers which faced the arms of the cross were additional panels which were to be filled as well as the main pendentives. Only the dome itself, previously painted in 1824 by the Baron Gros, was not included in the total project.<sup>30</sup> Under each dome was to have been a mosaic, the largest and most important being the representation of "Social Palingenesis"<sup>31</sup> at the crossing, while statues were intended for the center of the end wall of each transept, and in front of each main pier facing inward. As a final sculptural adornment, a huge monument to all religions was to be placed on the floor in front of the apse. All told, the scheme called for one hundred and eleven painted panels, five mosaics, six statues and the monument to universal religion.

The majority of evidence so far available deals with the mosaics and the lower panels along the walls, but the problem of assigning definite locations to the latter is somewhat difficult, for there are quite a number more than there are spaces to accommodate them. Gautier attempts a placement, but comes out with too many pictures, even allowing for the fact that he states correctly that some subjects such as the *Trojan War* and the *Christians in the Catacombs* occupy more than one intercolumniation. At least six designs exist for the five mosaics, pointing up the difficulty of making any accurate guess as to what the final arrangement was to have been. The extra subjects were, of course, alternates awaiting a final choice which was probably never made, and since the two best descriptions, those made by Gautier and Silvestre,<sup>32</sup> were written about seven years apart (1848 and 1855), it can be assumed that the artist was not sure of the relative importance of some events, whereas others which appear in both accounts, were definite choices from the beginning. Thirty-six of the designs were photographed by Braun in the 'seventies, so that these, plus the verbal accounts of the others, give a very fair idea of the general nature of the entire plan. Furthermore, since every scene, whether it was to have been used or not, was a partial illustration of the historical scheme employed, the extant designs probably are more informative than the finished set would have been.

No effort will here be made to analyze each scene in detail, but an idea of their character can be obtained from Figures 1 and 4. The sequence of subjects, however, is essential to an understanding of the artist's thought, and the central mosaic which sums it up will have to be described rather fully. The following list includes *all* the wall subjects so far known, arranged in approximate order reading around the building from left in a clockwise direction. With each is included a tentative suggestion of its intended significance:

1. *Adam* (doorway). The male principle; one-half of the divided sex.
2. *Eve* (doorway). The female principle, the other half.<sup>33</sup>
3. *The Deluge*. History begins, earth cleansed of the misbegotten offspring of giants, pre-Adamites, etc., as well as sinful men.<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 2)
4. *The Drunkenness of Noah*. The separation of the

racess; the curse of Ham.

5. *The Tower of Babel*. The multitude of separate races(?).
6. *The Chaldean Shepherds*. Symbolizes the early patriarchal system(?).
7. *Egypt*. Life along the Nile, beginnings of astronomy. The start of science; the patriarchal system begins to give way to the theocratic.

30. This work was to have represented the *chasse* of St. Genevieve, being borne heavenward by angels while below watched Clovis, Clothilde, Charlemagne, St. Louis, Napoleon, and Josephine. Following the exile of the emperor, however, a change was made which substituted Louis XVIII for the imperial couple and the saint herself for the *chasse*. Further minor changes were made after the accession of Louis-Philippe. Gérard was commissioned to do the pendentives, and apparently his work there was to have been removed to make way for Chenavard's designs. For illustration of the present murals see Jean Monval, *Le Panthéon*, Paris, 1940.

31. Discussed in detail below. Palingenesis here means "re-birth."

32. Théophile Gautier, *L'art moderne*, Paris (Lévy), 1856, and Silvestre *op.cit.* It seems probable that both of these ac-

counts were the result of personal examination plus conversation with the artist himself. Chenavard, being a great talker, was doubtless able to explain each picture in the most interesting terms. Gautier in particular makes many references to obscure interpretations which may have been clear enough in conversation with the painter but are far less so now. Silvestre makes more of an attempt to describe the system of thought behind the whole project. Blanc's account, while useful, is superficial in the sense that it describes the subjects but gives little attention to their significance.

33. These represent, according to Gautier, the androgeny of early man; see below.

34. This is one of the most puzzling pictures in the whole series. The presence of a triceratops, satyrs, and the animal-headed snake-legged creature wrestling with the man in the

8. *The Judgment of the Kings of Egypt after Death*. The height of theocracy(?). The Priest-King(?).
9. *The Sacrifice and Death of Zoroaster*. The overthrow of theocracy by the rising warrior class. Start of the heroic age.
10. *Moses on Sinai*. The great Israelite hero. May also be connected with the idea of the invention of writing—the Law now inscribed.
11. *Troy. Achilles*.
12. *Troy. The Wooden Horse*.
13. *Troy. Homer Sings of It*.  
11-13. Triumph of the warrior (heroic) cast. But physical strength not enough; to it must be added moral force. Idea of justice begins to emerge.
14. *Greece: Solon, Lycurgus, etc.* The appearance of law and justice.
15. *Herodotus*. The beginning of the study of history.
16. *Demosthenes*. Oratory.
17. *Socrates*. The beginning of morality. (Note: the order in these Greek scenes may not be accurate in any time sense.)
18. *Hippocrates*. Medicine.
19. *The Seven Sages of Greece*. The start of wisdom.
20. *The Artists of Greece*. The plastic arts at their height.
- THE STATUE OF ALEXANDER. The great disseminator of Hellenism.
21. *The Destruction of Athens*. The downfall of Hellenic culture.
22. *The Library at Alexandria*. Preservation of Greek culture.
23. *The Discovery of Romulus and Remus*. The origins of Rome.
24. *Brutus Condemns his sons*. Republican virtue, the supremacy of law.
25. *The Taking of Carthage*. The height of the Republic.
26. *Scipio at the Taking of Carthage*. The height of the Republic.
27. *Deaths of Brutus and Cato*. The end of the Republic.
28. *Caesar Crosses the Rubicon*. Beginning of civil strife.
29. *Augustus Closes the Doors of the Temple of Janus*. The end of civil strife, start of the Augustan Age.
30. *Virgil Reads from His Eclogues*. The prophecy of the coming of the Messiah.
31. *The Nativity*.
32. *Christ Preaching*.
33. *Christ at the Column*. (Death of Christ.)
34. *Deaths of Peter and Paul*. Symbolizes the mission and sacrifices of the Apostles—the first Christian teachers(?).
35. *Christians in the Catacombs*.
36. *Christians in the Catacombs*.  
35-36. The Roman world undermined by the rise of Christianity.
37. *Separation of the Apostles*. (This is probably the same scene as number 34.)
38. *The Baptism of Constantine*. The first supremacy of Christianity.
39. *St. Ambrose and Theodosius*. The rising power of the Church.
40. *Attila and Pope Leo*.
41. *Attila and Pope Leo*.  
40-41. Christianity vs. barbarism. The opposition of moral to physical force. "Attila buries pagan Rome."
42. *The Anchorites*. The pause during which civilization takes a new grasp on life after the barbarian period.
43. *St. Jerome in the Thebaid*. Probably the same idea. May also refer to the translation of the scriptures.
44. *The Hegira of Mohammed*. Rise of Islam.
- STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE. Stands for the unity of the Middle Ages.
45. *Court of Haroun-al-Raschid*.
46. *Court of Haroun-al-Raschid*.  
45-46. The peak of Islamic civilization and its connection with western culture. Arabic learning, etc.
47. *Coronation of Gregory VII*. The supremacy of ecclesiastical power, the Church the capstone of Christendom. (Reference indirectly to Henry IV at Canossa.)
48. *The Crusaders with Peter the Hermit enter Jerusalem*. The necessary check to the rise of Arab power, also the cultural mingling which resulted.
49. *The Crusaders sack the city*.
50. *The Oath of Rutli*. The awakening of the modern idea of liberty.
51. *The Poets in Italy*. The culture of late medieval (14th c.) times. Each symbolized a form of love.
52. *Ariosto and Artists with Julius II*. The culture of the Renaissance.
53. *The Artists and Leo X*. Same concept. (Probably alternates.)
54. *The Discovery of Printing*. Ideas can now multiply and spread with great speed.
55. *The Discovery of America: Columbus*. The start of a new era whose forces cannot yet be estimated.
56. *The Discovery of America (cont'd)*.
57. *Luther at Wittenberg*. The Reformation, the beginning of the critical spirit.
58. *The Garden of Louis XIV*. The greatest intellectual age of France.
59. *The Stairway of Voltaire*. The triumph of the critical spirit.
60. *Humanity leaves its records on the wall of the Pantheon*.
61. *Napoleon steps into the bark of history*. Napoleon was the end of a long period. Shown here with Charlemagne and other great unifiers.
62. *The Fraternal Feast of Nations*. This scene was to have gone over the door and represents a sort of prophecy. (See the time scheme, last quarter.)

foreground requires explanation. These creatures are probably concerned with pre-Adamite, or at least antediluvian, speculation, but their exact source is not clear. The group of man and monster in the center is reused in *The Divine Tragedy* to repre-

sent Thor's struggle with the Midgard serpent (Fig. 2). Pre-Adamism attracted considerable attention in the early nineteenth century.

The frieze contained a procession of figures quite fully described by Gautier who explained that the artist believed in a sort of evolution of divinities similar to the development of mankind itself.<sup>35</sup> Thus in pre-history when the social world was formless and uncertain, the Gods were monstrous hybrids, but as time wore on and civilization advanced, they became more and more human, since man was, after all, formed in the image of God. The gods, demigods, the heroes of Greece were all anthropomorphic, leading eventually to the greatest man-god of all, Jesus Christ. This strange parade was related in a general way to the corresponding scenes below, gods and heroes being replaced, in the sections devoted to the Christian era, by the great men whose work and thought had been notable in human affairs, ending with Saint-Simon and Fourier.

The piers were dedicated to the four great divisions of culture exemplifying four stages of society: gold was the age of religion, silver the age of poetry, bronze the age of philosophy, and iron that of science. This arrangement does not seem entirely in agreement with Chenavard's thesis that the age of poetry was the greatest of all, but his ideas were not always entirely consistent. Each age was symbolized by a great man, the statue of whom stood against the inner face of each pier. Moses was the embodiment of religion, Homer of poetry, Aristotle of philosophy, and Galileo of science. On the panels of the outer faces of each pier and in the pendentives above were other illustrative figures and scenes carrying out the idea of each main division. Gautier notes in passing that nearly all these characters were either unhappy in their lives or came to tragic ends—possibly their choice was to some extent influenced by the artist's personal pessimism.

The decorative scheme was continued in mosaic on the floor in a series of circular panels dealing with the afterlife and the significance of history. In the nave was placed a representation of Purgatory, strangely blended of Christian and pagan elements as were the other three smaller scenes. In the left arm was Hell, in the right, Paradise, and in the "choir," the Elysian Fields. By the time of Silvestre's description, the last-named had been replaced by the Crucifixion, possibly a concession to the Church's objections to the paganism of the cycle as a whole.

Before describing the central mosaic, it will be well to consider the time scheme reproduced by Silvestre with the simple caption: "P. Chenavard. *Calendrier d'une philosophie de l'histoire*."<sup>36</sup> Although no further information is given regarding its origin or meaning, it is clear that it represents the basic framework of the artist's views on history and must be regarded as at least a partial guide to the entire cycle as executed. The two must be studied together. As reproduced in Figure 3, the diagram published by Silvestre has been expanded to include certain material taken from that author's account of Chenavard's ideas, while the circles beyond the heavy line constitute an added concordance with the actual paintings. At the center is a circle symbolizing the span of individual human life from birth to death at the age of eighty-four. This is divided evenly into seven year periods, grouped by threes, each trio making up a quarter of a life. The characteristics of man at each age are indicated, and to these correspond the greater ages of history in a ratio of 1:100. Thus the infancy and youth of society is spent in passing through a patriarchal stage during which the earth is peopled by the sons of Noah and various religions develop. Society is in a rather formless state during this epoch.

Man's life from the age of twenty-one to forty-two is the period of his greatest powers in Chenavard's view, and so it is with society. In common with many historians of his day, he felt that the great cultures of Greece and Rome sprang ultimately from Egypt with some influence from the cultures of the Near East and Persia. Thus from the legendary Nimrod (the first important ruler according to Genesis) to Christ, society forms itself with great force and vigor. Law, science, art, philosophy, medicine, politics, literature were all initiated and carried to very considerable degrees of excellence. Indeed, poetry, architecture, and sculpture never were as fine again. The climax of this age was the reign of Augustus Caesar in the pagan world, and the life of Christ in

35. Gautier, *op.cit.*, pp. 41-58.

36. Silvestre, *op.cit.*, p. 148.



the Hebrew. This joint eminence marked the divide which separated growth from decay, and since this is so, it is clear that Chenavard was no believer in the almost universally accepted idea of progress.

The third quarter opens with the Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity. The latter, seemingly, is viewed not as a growth of human spiritual power, but rather in terms of the rise of the Church. Chenavard felt that Christianity was the best among religions, but its development in the hands of the clergy was not a growth, but a vitiation of its intellectual and moral force.<sup>37</sup> He gives it some credit, however, for it is Leo who opposes barbarism in the person of Attila rather than the secular power of Europe. Clovis and Charlemagne act under the moral power of the Church, but Mohammed and the culture of Islam are also given prominence (the court of Haroun-al-Raschid was assigned two spaces). The scenes of the coronation of Gregory VII and the Crusades conclude the list of Catholic events, and Luther's defiance at Wittenberg is the last religious theme. Human skills and science increase, but man's nobility is on the wane, along with his spiritual power as indicated by the "decadent" arts of painting and music characteristic of the period. This section closes with Napoleon and the great question mark which was America, a force whose effect the painter could not clearly foresee. In the last panel, Bonaparte climbs into the bark of history with Charlemagne and other great leaders of the past; an era is drawing to its close.

The last quarter, not illustrated in the Pantheon series except in the central mosaic and in the scene of the feast of nations mentioned only by Gautier as standing over the Adam and Eve at the entrance, is the old age of man and the ruin of society. Capitalism apparently unites the world through science and industry, the races of the world unite with a common language, but these are not hopeful signs, for religion disappears and mankind is destroyed. On this gloomy note, the calendar stops and history with it; the whole circuit having lasted just eighty-four hundred years.

The mosaic under the dome, called by the critics "Social Palingenesis" seems to illustrate the whole scheme in condensed form.<sup>38</sup> In the reproduction (Fig. 4), it will be seen that only about three-fourths of the circle remain, the lowest portion having been cut off. It was in this part that the final dissolution of society was depicted, but whether or not it still is preserved in Lyon is not as yet known to the writer of this account. Fortunately, Gautier saw it, so with his help the entire subject can be briefly described.<sup>39</sup> The figure at the top with arms outstretched is explained by most commentators as that of Christ, a natural hypothesis since about his feet are grouped the four symbols of the Evangelists, but Gautier maintains that this is the personification of "the Word," the divine spark which is in all mankind everywhere at all times. Possibly it is Christ as well, but there is no halo to signify divinity. On either side are the elders of the Apocalypse holding up their crowns, while to the right the four Cardinal Virtues lead forward the divinities of the East and the Mediterranean: Chronos, Isis, Jupiter, etc. In a corresponding position on the other side are the three Theological Virtues bringing in the Norse gods—Odin can be seen kneeling in the foreground with the ravens on his shoulder. The figure of Hope, strangely enough, is represented as a skeleton, a fact which Gautier explains by saying that Chenavard believed death to be the desire for another life, and as the soul leaves the body it hopes for immortality. This would be in accordance with the painter's known interest in the transmigration of souls. It is possible, in fact, that he felt that the succeeding characters in history were reincarnations of earlier lives, and that the same held true for societies which disappeared to be reborn again in other forms. If this is true,

37. The pessimism reflected here found a similar somber statement in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle, who was himself concerned with the romantic epic of man's destiny. Such poems as "Dies Irae," "Le Nazaréen," and "Le Dernier Dieu" reflect a spirit quite close to Chenavard's.

38. This title probably came from the painter himself. At all events, most critics used it and it was so titled in the Salon of 1855 (Exposition Universelle). According to Joseph Buche

(*L'école mystique de Lyon*, p. 263 n. 1) a colored print of the mosaic was published by a certain A. Rey with an explanatory legend by the artist, but a copy has so far not been found.

39. A recent letter from M. Vaillant, Director of the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, suggests that the lower portion may no longer exist. The author wishes to express his very real gratitude to M. Vaillant for much helpful material. The description given here is from Gautier's *Art moderne*.

it is unusual that he failed to find evidences of progress in these rebirths, for in most such speculation each soul travels an ascending path (in spite of temporary reverses) while in Chenavard's scheme the sum total of all such transmigrations was eventual decay and ruin. Again, this may merely be evidence of a certain inconsistency in his thought.

Directly below the figure of the Christ-Logos, in the central intercolumniation, is a strange object symbolizing the unity of all religions. The primitive stage of worship is represented by the Brahminic cow, the Persian gryphon, and the Chaldean sphinx, on whose backs rests the Egyptian Bark of the Dead. In this boat is placed the Ark of the Covenant protected by its winged cherubim, while on top of it, surmounting the whole, is the chalice of the Last Supper. This group, executed in marble and granite, was to have stood on the floor before the apse, a sort of altar at which all faiths could worship. One can only speculate as to the reactions of the archbishop of Paris to this portion of the plan.

Returning to the mosaic, in the right side of the colonnade are found the characters of the ancient world who were possessed of the divine word or spark: Zoroaster, Confucius, Homer, Plato, Solon, the sibyls and many others. On the other side are the great figures of the Old Testament from Adam and Eve down through Noah and Moses to the prophets. The floor on which they stand, viewed as a chronological symbol, would mark the mid-point in history, the moment of division between the old world and the new revelation, for on the stair at the left the Virgin starts downward, with the infant Christ in her arms, accompanied by John the Baptist. Below are various saints and fathers of the Church symbolizing the early spread of Christianity, while across from them the life and decline of the pagan world is represented by Ptolemy, Alexander, Caesar, Attila, etc. At the extreme right, the Mohammedans are shown bursting forth to be met by the resolute form of Charles Martel. The Middle Ages occupy the lower steps where Peter the Hermit can be seen preaching the Crusades, Merlin witnesses the crowning of Charlemagne, and so on. In the foreground stand the great men of modern times from the beginning of the Renaissance down to Napoleon and George Washington. Gutenberg, Raphael, Bossuet, Cromwell, Peter the Great, Luther, Mozart, Dante, Spinoza, and Lavoisier are there among others who represent the arts, philosophy, letters, science, and politics of recent centuries.

At this point, the bottom of the existing picture, history has arrived at the end of its third quarter on the time calendar, the start of the final stage. In Armbruster's lithograph of the picture,<sup>40</sup> which is clearer in the details, Washington (left center) is shown with his left foot on a lower rocky step, the upper part, apparently, of a defile which extended downward to the bottom of the circle. According to Gautier's description, the path leads into the bowels of the earth where an incredibly ugly person—no longer divine in any sense—counts gold and banknotes, resting his elbow on a bale of cotton. Around him lie the scattered broken fragments of the arts. As the trail descends, the figures become increasingly brutish until at the bottom they perish. In the lowest register of all burns a fire from which rises a Phoenix, the promise of a new cycle and the counterpart of the figure of the Word at the top.

In this extraordinary fashion Chenavard attempted to sum up the course of history, past, present, and future. As a pictorial framework for his design, he called upon Raphael's *Disputa* and *School of Athens*, placing one above the other (albeit somewhat flattened out) with great ingenuity. Even in the poor photograph available, it would seem to be superior in conception to such contemporary "machines" as Couture's *Decadence of the Romans*.

The sources from which the substance of his cycle was drawn have not, at this writing, been entirely uncovered, so that the present account will only point out certain of the more striking similarities which may serve to explain its general nature, leaving the details for later study. The

40. F. Armbruster, *Paul Chenavard et son oeuvre*, Première partie, *Le Panthéon*, Lyon, 1887. For some reason this publication was never completed.



fact is that no pictorial series of exactly this type exists anywhere in the history of European mural art, although there are partial parallels in the German work of the time.<sup>41</sup> Other examples of broad interpretations of human destiny come to mind such as the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence or the decorations of the Stanze of the Vatican, but such a lengthy, detailed analysis of the events of universal history has no counterpart. Stylistically, the scenes exhibit numerous borrowings from the work of other artists, most notably Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel which were admittedly an inspiration to Chenavard,<sup>42</sup> but the underlying ideas come rather from literary sources which were, for the most part, contemporary, or nearly so.<sup>43</sup> Apparently no one of these furnished the full scheme—one would hardly expect so simple a solution to this particular painter's search for an intellectual basis—but several were drawn on for ideas later united in a loose and not entirely consistent whole which covered human activity from Adam to St. Simon, foretelling, as we have seen, a dire future.

In the earlier part of the last century, France was a center for an unusual kind of romantic thinking which concerned itself with man's fortune interpreted in a number of esoteric ways. Illuminism, Martinism, Orphism, Swedenborgianism, and several types of Neo-Catholicism were all involved in a widespread effort to find a new path to the truth about history, the meaning of religion, and the place of humankind in the cosmos. The jumble of concepts emerging from this rather intuitive search is so confusing that even the specialist in the field of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century ideas has difficulty in bringing it into a semblance of order. Its shifting alignments have been analyzed by Auguste Viatte in *Les sources occultes du romantisme*,<sup>44</sup> while its literary effects have been ably discussed by Herbert J. Hunt in *The Epic in Nineteenth Century France*,<sup>45</sup> but neither author can give it coherence, for by nature this particular form of the romantic spirit remained varied, unstable and even irrational. But it was precisely here that Chenavard's thought was formed, for he was temperamentally suited to it, obviously fascinated by its mysticism, and learned in its lore. His views on the relation of the individual life to that of society, the concept of rebirth or palingenesis, the importance of all religions, and the startling mixture of historical and mythological events are all characteristic of this unusual approach to history favored by a wide range of writers including philosophers like Ballanche, cultural historians like Buchez, and poets like Vigny, Lamartine, and Hugo.<sup>46</sup>

Hunt, in his lucid summary of the general nature of this phenomenon, says that it arose in an atmosphere of doubt and instability engendered by the breakdown of orthodox religious belief occurring before complete confidence in the rationalism of natural science had been established.<sup>47</sup> Such an age, in his opinion, is "open to wild forms of cosmic speculation"—a very apt description of Chenavard's scheme. Theosophy, which in this context can be associated with illuminism, contributed materially to these semireligious notions, particularly by means of the idea of successive revelations through the medium of great figures like Orpheus, Zoroaster, Moses, and Christ—just as suggested in the historical calendar already discussed. To this notion of multiple revelation was

41. The work of Peter von Cornelius is perhaps the closest. Like Chenavard he was impressed by Michelangelo, approached art through the intellect, and dealt with "great" historic themes in his work at Munich and Berlin. The exact nature of the connection between the Frenchman and the German school must await a more detailed study, but he was clearly influenced by them at several points.

42. cf. the artist's own account of *The Divine Tragedy* as quoted in Vial, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-108.

43. Writers on the artist have suggested various persons to whose ideas he was presumably indebted: Bossuet, Herder, Hegel, Saint-Simon, and others, but in spite of some general similarities they do not afford much evidence of close connection, and better sources are to be found elsewhere. It is interesting that the published historical chronologies of the time, such as Chas. C. Hamilton's *An Epitome of Universal Chronology*,

*History, and Biography* (London, 1826) or Chas. L. Deyss' *Chronologie universelle* (Paris, 1858), show a similar use of exact dates for such events as the building of the Tower of Babel or the life of Homer as well as the free mingling of fact and fable. The author wishes to thank Professor Jean Seznec for suggesting that the origins of these concepts might be found among the literary figures of the day rather than among the professional historians.

44. 2 vols., Paris, 1928.

45. Oxford, 1841.

46. To cite only a few examples: Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *Orphée, La ville des expiations, La vision d'Hebal*; P. Buchez, *Introduction à la science de l'histoire*; Alfred de Vigny, *Éloa*; Alphonse de Lamartine, *Les visions*; Victor Hugo, *La légende des siècles*. A much fuller list can be obtained from Hunt, *op.cit.*

47. See Hunt, *op.cit.*, chap. II. The summary which follows is based in large part upon this chapter.



added the belief in the possibility of a similar unveiling of the truth for individuals, thus opening the gates to all manner of unusual statements about the cosmic purposes of the universe. Ballanche even went so far as to start his account in the mind of God and end it in the same place.<sup>48</sup> Such concepts were useful in the interpretation of the meaning of religions other than the Christian, such as those native to India, Persia, and Egypt, which were felt to have a bearing upon man's continuous spiritual development, while, as a further aid in the study of all cults, use could be made of such contemporary scientific studies of mythology as the great work by Jacob Grimm.<sup>49</sup> Since new theories about evolution and the antiquity of various forms of life were challenging the literal interpretation of Genesis, most of these romantic cosmological systems made some attempt to reconcile the two views by means of essentially mystical explanations. In short, history was widened to include nearly any and all forms of evidence, real or imaginary, which could be employed to support a projected interpretation. Evolutionary zoology, Hindu mysticism, demonology, orphic symbolism, sociology, and Catholicism, all being useful, were applied with a lack of discrimination which is almost staggering. The long path which stretched from the Divinity in which all things had their beginning to the nineteenth century condition of man, and onward into the future, could thus be explained and commented on with the greatest possible freedom without much regard either for orthodoxy or the strictures of historical and scientific accuracy. As a consequence, many of the resultant structures were indeed strange. Their strangeness, however, did not deprive them of a certain grandeur, a majestic beauty which can still be felt today, providing one does not bring to the reading a demand for demonstrable truth. The spiritual content of Ballanche or Quinet remains impressive, and sometimes very moving.

It was the former, a Neo-Catholic philosopher from Lyon, who emerged in the second and third decades of the century as probably the most considerable figure in the whole movement. Recent studies have shown the extent of his influence on romanticism in France and the genuine importance of his thought.<sup>50</sup> In all his published works he was concerned with the interpretation of society which could, he felt, be improved by a reconsideration of its own decisive forces. The source of most of the trouble was inequality, a condition arising from the androgeny of Adam, a sort of Platonic concept of the primal division of the sexes suggested in Genesis (5:2): "Male and female created he them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam in the day they were created." From the Fall in the Garden of Eden onward, the story of human affairs was that of a series of rebirths each of which was marked by "tests" (*épreuves*) followed by periods of expiation during which men gradually worked off the failure of the first great moral "test" under the Tree of Knowledge. His views on the working out of this system through the centuries are summed up in a small volume entitled *La vision d'Hebal, chef d'un clan écossais* which was published in 1831. Here, as in his other books, the precondition for a true grasp of history is the awareness of an exact parallel between the life of the individual and that of the whole of mankind.<sup>51</sup> Both are born, mature, grow old, and die throughout a series of metempsychoses leading eventually to a final perfection preceding the end of the world. In this vision, the full cycle of time is revealed to Hebal (obviously Ballanche) through scenes chosen to illustrate the underlying thesis of palingenesis.<sup>52</sup> The scale of the division by centuries is not identical with Chenavard's, nor are the same events chosen, but in both cases the course of history is conceived as a full circle rather than the more common upward spiral which implied progress.<sup>53</sup> Ballanche, being fundamentally a Catholic, even

48. P.-S. Ballanche, *La vision d'Hebal*.

49. Jacob Ludwig Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1835.

50. For the life and works of Ballanche, see Albert J. George, *Pierre-Simon Ballanche*, Syracuse (N.Y.), 1945; Joseph Buche, *L'école mystique de Lyon*, and H. J. Hunt, *op.cit.*, chap. v.

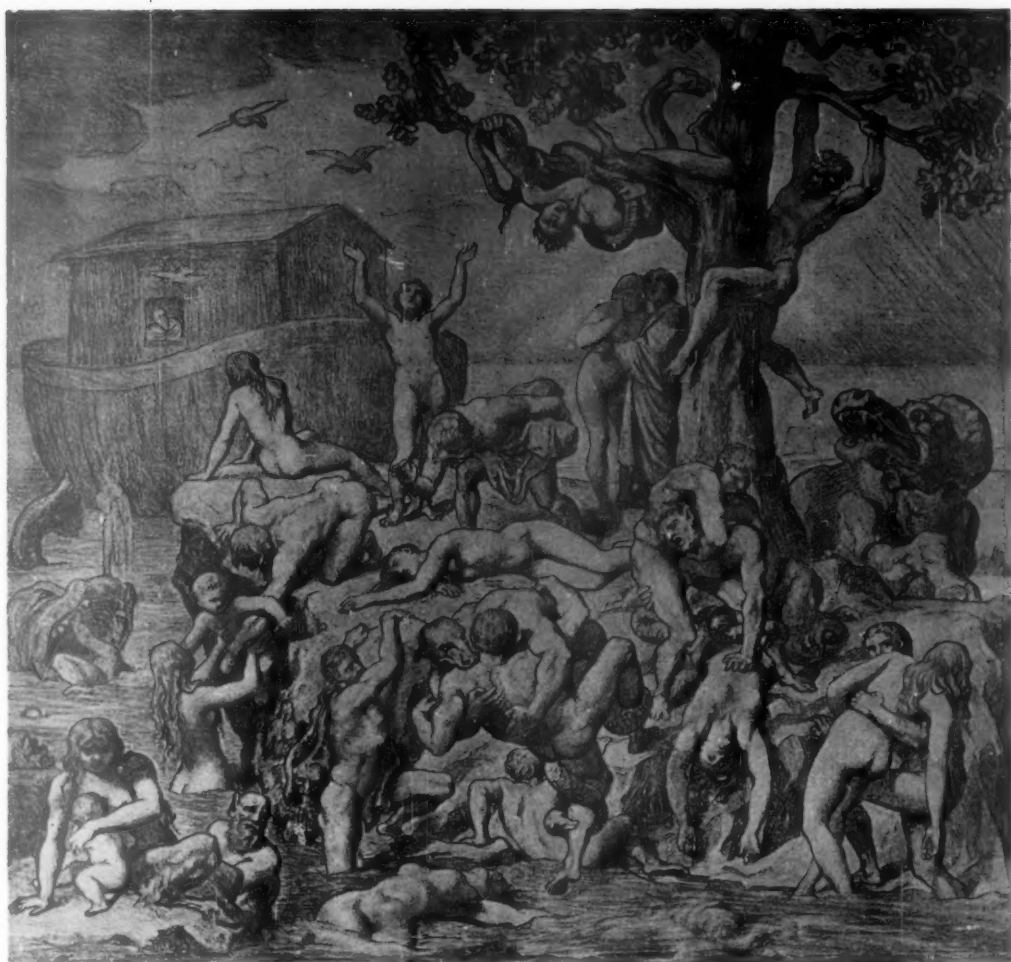
51. "... his [i.e. Hebal's] mortal life, symbol of his immortal life, moved parallel with the life of the human race" (*Vision*, p. 11). "The history of a man is the history of man"

(*Ville des expiations*, Paris [1832-35], ed. Presses Françaises, 1926, bk. VII, p. 107), etc.

52. The hero's name seems to be a simple rebus on that of the author: BAL[lanc]HE equals Hebal by transposition.

53. Ballanche's views on art, given at some length in *La ville* (pp. 123-124) seem to agree quite well with those of Chenavard:

"Nos peintres (in the City of Expiations), nos statuaires ... ont une mine inépuisable à exploiter dans la création des

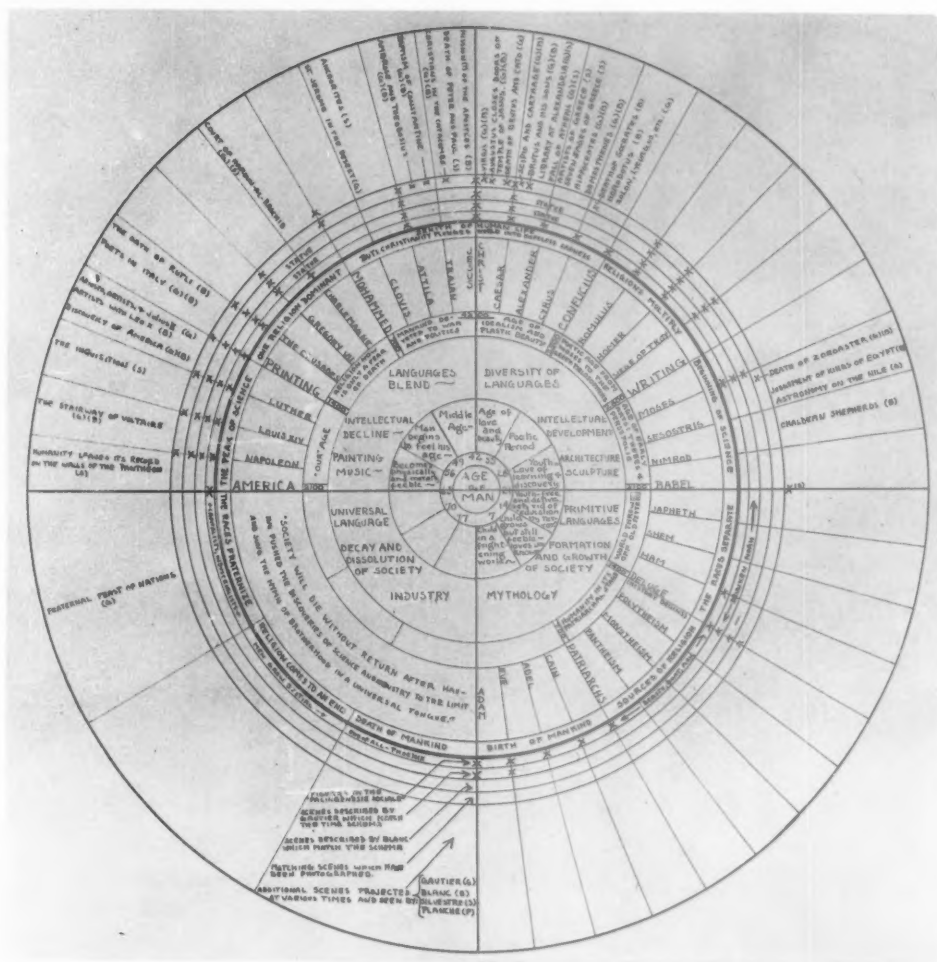


1. Chenavard, *The Deluge*.  
Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



2. Chenavard, *The Divine Tragedy*. Paris, Palais du Luxembourg?







though liberal to an almost heretical degree, took an optimistic view of the greater part of the process, ending with a sort of superman who was, however, still unable to grasp the divine purpose even after the world had been emptied of all life and whirled away into outer space. One of the attributes of this perfect creature of the future was his again becoming one when the sexes—at least as sources of social inequality—had ceased to exist. The result of this unification was universal harmony.<sup>54</sup> As will be seen later, the painter made interesting use of this concept in his painting of *The Divine Tragedy*.

Thus the artist, while not following the lead of his friend and fellow-Lyonnais at all points, adopted his theory of social rebirth, even going so far as to refer to his great central mosaic as *La palingénésie sociale*, a title borrowed from the most extensive of Ballanche's published works.<sup>55</sup> More important still was the use of the idea of history as equaling a single human life. Since, however, Chenavard believed that nearly three-fourths of it had already passed, the future could only be a period of increasing decline, though beyond it rose the dim form of a new cycle symbolized by the Phoenix at the bottom of the mosaic. If he was optimistic about the remote future, his pessimism found ample support in the more immediate prospect.

As suggested above, Ballanche's literary influence was considerable, coloring the ideas of a number of other writers, among whom was Philippe Buchez.<sup>56</sup> Although usually regarded as a follower of Saint-Simon, he was markedly affected by the ideas of the Lyonnais philosopher. His most revealing historical work was the *Introduction à la science de l'histoire*, an interesting title for a volume containing many evidences of the romantic attitude with which we are here concerned. In its own right the book is not important, but its choice of historical episodes parallels that of Chenavard more closely than the one in *La vision d'Hebal*. Noteworthy is the selection of the following for illustration, all of whom figure in the Pantheon project: the anchorites, Clovis, Charlemagne, the rise of Islam, Gregory VII, the Crusades, Luther, the discovery of printing, and the finding of America. Buchez also imagines a future unification of the nations, though he views it optimistically rather than as a sign of decadence. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is his lengthy discussion of the descent of men from gods, demigods, and heroes, an idea which serves as the ideological basis for the whole first section of the frieze. There may also be significance in the fact that he terms his review of history an "androgeny," thus implying that it is the clue to the whole story. It will be recalled that the figures of Adam and Eve begin the mural series, and Gautier describes them as "the two separated portions of the primordial androgeny."<sup>57</sup>

The circle of those affected by the romantic view of history also included the historian and man of letters, Edgar Quinet.<sup>58</sup> Of his many writings, at least two seem to have a particular bearing on

personnages universels. L'étude de la science physiognomique sert merveilleusement à cela, comme elle sert à nos juges et à nos magistrats. C'est une grande faculté instinctive qui a créé le Jupiter-Olympien, Homère, tous les types antiques. Voyez le Moïse et le Christ de Michelange! Voyez les figures traditionnelles du Sauveur des hommes! Il faut faire attention à une chose; c'est le peuple qui fait une physionomie, qui lui imprime son vrai caractère individuel, ce qui la rend type historique ou mythique. Jusqu'à un certain point une physionomie n'est pas par elle-même; elle est par ceux qui la regardent, qui en sont impressionnés, dirigés, inspirés ou fascinés.

"Cette habitude du symbole élève nos artistes, développe en eux la faculté nécessaire pour saisir les figures historiques, les individualités poétiques. Notre statue humaine, c'est à l'homme seul, c'est à tout l'homme à retrouver en soi le caractère de la ressemblance divine, et il faut en toutes choses de l'inspiration pour trouver ce qui est. En un mot, ce sont toutes les sympathies réunies qui créent une ressemblance idéale, et l'artiste est tenu de se rendre l'expression de toutes ces sympathies. . . ."

54. The importance of the division of the sexes is stressed in several of Ballanche's books. Amand Rastoul, in his introduction to the edition of *La ville des expiations* already cited, points out (pp. lxxvff.) that in the philosopher's mind they

stood for the two castes in society, the male being the plebeian group, the female, the patrician. The evil of this inequality will disappear when the active and passive principles are finally reunited.

55. *Essai de palingénésie sociale*, Paris, 1827-29. The connection between the two men has been pointed out by several writers including Buche and Vial. George, in his life of the philosopher, overstates the case somewhat when he says simply: "Paul Chenavard the painter conceived and composed from the *Palingénésie* an immense synthesis of the history of humanity . . ." (George, *op.cit.*, p. 127).

56. Philippe Joseph Benjamin Buchez, 1796-1866. A physician and ardent republican, he wrote on philosophy, history, and politics. In 1848 he was President of the National Constituent Assembly. First a follower of Saint-Simon, he later became a Catholic Socialist. His views on history include the ideas of multiple revelation, palingenesis, a belief in progress, and an interest in pre-Adamism. For a summary of his thought see Robert Flint, *Historical Philosophy in France, French Belgium and Switzerland*, London, 1893, pp. 421ff.

57. Gautier, *L'art moderne*, p. 7.

58. Quinet's connection with the romantic epic is fully discussed in Hunt, *op.cit.*, chap. vi. His most interesting effort

the present discussion. The first is a brief essay, written in 1828, called *De l'origine des dieux*, and the second, *Le génie des religions*, which appeared in 1841, is a further amplification of the same general theories.<sup>59</sup> Quinet's dependence upon Ballanche at several points has been pointed out by Hunt, a fact which suggests the possibility that he, too, may have influenced Chenavard. This hypothesis seems to be justified, for close resemblances between the thought of the two men can be found, resemblances of a somewhat unusual nature.

The *Génie des religions* is written with the avowed purpose of "deducing political and civil society from religion,"<sup>60</sup> to which end the author marshals evidence not only from Christianity, but the oriental and Graeco-Roman cults as well, followed in modern times by Germanic mythology, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Mohammedanism—a significant division corresponding exactly to the choice made by the painter. The last act in the great drama of religion is thus described: "But the men of the north take a dislike to it [Catholicism]; the Germanic spirit revolts first; the Reformation bursts forth, man once more takes up the search for truth which he believed he possessed. Having thought himself safely arrived in port, there he is once more plunged into the storm. Doubt takes possession of the world, eternal God vacillates in human hearts; but this sceptical shudder does not remain fruitless: everything is in motion; philosophy and political revolutions together open up the future, and we, who appear momentarily in the middle of this spectacle, await the lightning which must dazzle us all and bring back the peace which the world has lost."<sup>61</sup> Here, surely, is evidence of a spirit akin to that of the author of the Pantheon designs.

Two specific examples will have to suffice in this brief account to illustrate the connection more concretely. The first concerns art itself.<sup>62</sup> Quinet sets the artist above all others since God himself was the first of them. Only the artist is connected with what is ageless because his work is connected with divinity and based upon the eternal, dying only with civilization itself. Art, therefore, arises from the religious condition of each historical period with the result that each brings forth a form suitable to its nature. At this point, Quinet proceeds to explain a parallel between stages of culture and their art forms which appears in identical form in Chenavard's time scheme.

The early period of Asiatic "visible pantheism," dominated by nature cults, could only express itself in architecture, the greatest of the arts and the support for all the others. It is the product of a society of castes, the work of continuous generations rather than individuals. But later in Greece, humanity for the first time worships itself, requiring for its expression the use of sculpture which remains the dominant mode down through Roman times. With the advent of Christianity another revolution occurs in religion; man becomes a particular individual of a particular moment, the prey of innumerable effects of chance. What is needed here, therefore, is an art to fix him in his time and place, that is, painting, the only form which can show him in his environment. Music, says Quinet, was also truly revealed by Christianity, but belongs more properly in a philosophical age: Mozart and Beethoven are paralleled by Kant and Hegel. Given Chenavard's pessimism, it naturally becomes the art of decadence.

The second example concerns the influence of Dante which is everywhere apparent in the iconography of at least three of the four auxiliary mosaics surrounding the central Palingenesis. The extent of the painter's indebtedness to the *Divine Comedy* has been pointed out in detail by Irène de Vasconcellos in *L'inspiration dantesque dans l'art romantique français*.<sup>63</sup> This analysis shows that a large part of the thematic material for the *Hell*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise* was borrowed from this one source, but the reason for so doing is not made clear. An explanation for the juxtaposition of Dante's epic and the summary of palingenetic history contained in the central design is suggested

along these lines is the mystic drama *Ahasvérus*, first published in 1833.

59. The two works cited here are published together in *Oeuvres complètes de Edgar Quinet*, ed. Pagnerre, Paris, 1857-58, I.

60. Quinet, *op.cit.*, under "Avertissement."

61. *ibid.*, p. 13.

62. *ibid.*, pp. 90ff. The similarities of this view to the position taken by Hegel will be obvious, but the determination of his exact influence upon Chenavard must await further study.

63. Paris, 1925 (a doctoral dissertation).



by the closing paragraphs of Quinet's *De l'origine des dieux*.<sup>64</sup> The author says that in the Middle Ages Christian symbolism, through the Church, dominated all other cults, and became the basis for a new art. In the synthesis thus achieved all previous conflicts between mythologies are resolved in one great harmony which exists in the universal human conscience. He continues:

"The *Divine Comedy* of Dante will thus be the first act of a sort of last judgment in which will be explained and recognized in the light of universal understanding, the mistakes, the false alliances, the groups scattered by an action whose design the centuries themselves have complicated. In its abstract character, the *Divine Comedy* will not have for its issue the taking of a city, nor the vengeance of a tribe, nor the migration of a people, but the progressive law of the secular world, an ideal Troy, the City of the Eternal.

"Previous epics were the work and picture of a race or nation; the epic of Dante, which opens a new cycle, will appear to us as the creation and likeness of the human race. And now, when a man can do as he will with the annals of humanity as Homer did with those of the Greeks, when for unity he chooses the unity of history and nature, when he draws real beings together through the centuries in the marvelous path of the infinite, when scenes follow each other forming a chain—no longer in the shadows of Hell, Purgatory, or the Paradise of the Middle Ages, but in a limitless space shining with a fuller light, when man, I say, has done this, he will have arrived at the possible and necessary form of the epic in the modern world. Less finished in its contours than the Homeric poems, it will surpass them in grandeur and loftiness. His purpose is to disengage the real aspect of humanity from the mystic veils of the *Divine Comedy*, of *Paradise Lost* and the holy books of Christianity, just as the *Iliad* extracted the Greek form from the symbolic epics of the Achaeans and Pelasgians."

From the evidence at hand, it would seem very probable that Chenavard set himself this very problem: the creation of the "epic in the modern world" contrasting it with the epic of the previous Christian epoch. Being opposed to the Church, unorthodox, and devoted to the problems of what seemed to him to be a new age, he wished to compose in pictorial form what others were attempting in literature, the story of the world to the full scale of all history, adjusted to the modern point of view. He, along with the other romantics of this persuasion, sensed a grandeur in man, and although he felt that it was fading rapidly, what better task could he perform than to set it forth on the walls and floor of the national shrine of his country?

Further investigation may well bring to light other possible sources for his theories, but until more evidence is forthcoming, a number of questions will have to remain unanswered. Among these is the problem of why America, of whose social ideals he must have approved, symbolized the beginning of the final stage of decline? And why was world unity a sign of the same thing? These questions and many more remain to be answered, but even without their solutions, it is evident that his was a most unusual, and in some places possibly prophetic, reading of the story of mankind. Yet its very uniqueness defeated the purpose for which it was intended, since if its author wished to instruct and inspire his fellows, he could hardly have hoped to succeed by means of a system so complex and obscure that probably his own friends could not follow it entirely. Possibly he thought that this very obscurity would arouse men to the neglected study of the past and its meaning for the future, even though that future, paradoxically, was dark and foreboding. It was unfortunate that his general intentions in regard to history, pantheons, and human grandeur apparently got somewhat lost in the clouds of his detailed personal speculations on the drama of society. Silvestre and others who knew him suggest that this was the case, pointing out that his systems were not only often ephemeral, but frequently inconsistent and self-contradictory.<sup>65</sup>

Following the collapse of the Pantheon project, he became even more pessimistic and anti-Catholic. As mentioned above, he exhibited only once more—in 1869—causing a considerable stir

64. Quinet, *op.cit.*, pp. 436-437.

65. cf. Théophile Silvestre, *Histoire des artistes*, p. 105.



with *The Divine Tragedy* (Fig. 2). This canvas was both large and somber, but aside from a rather finely complicated design of figures drawn mainly from the work of other artists, it doubtless deserved, on aesthetic grounds, to be forgotten along with numerous other history paintings of the day. But unlike them it had a meaning of considerable significance to anyone interested either in the artist's intellectual career or the subject of history painting in general. This meaning was concealed under a carefully calculated ambiguity which was, unfortunately, insufficient to prevent its being subjected to a peculiar form of censorship.

Explanations of historical subjects were customarily supplied in the official catalogues of the Salon, and the description of Chenavard's picture stated that it represented the destruction of the various pagan cults in the triumphant presence of the Trinity.<sup>66</sup> Odin, Thor, Apollo, Diana, Jupiter, Ammon, Typhon, and Maia, with other gods of the Norse and Eastern pantheons, were dying or performing final acts preparatory to death in the presence of God the Father who held his Son in his arms while the Holy Ghost fluttered beside them. Death, accompanied by an angel with a flaming sword, brandished the huge scythe with which destruction was to be accomplished. A brief examination of the painting, however, shows that this account does not explain certain peculiar features of it. Above the head of God are cherubim (not visible in the illustration) whose heads, instead of being those of infants, are skulls. Since they float directly over the Trinity, the official explanation that they refer to the divinities arranged along the bottom and on the sides of the composition seems hardly adequate. Furthermore, in the lower right-hand corner, Venus, possibly the most un-Christian resident of Olympus, is being borne away to safety in the arms of Love and Bacchus. Why should she escape? Most peculiar of all, in the upper left-hand corner, above all the other figures, is a nude hermaphrodite seated on a hippocamp, holding a lyre. The account in the catalogue mentions its presence saying that it symbolizes the "harmony of two natures or contrary principles," which is true enough, but does not explain what it is doing in this particular scene. Furthermore, although no halos grace the Trinity, this unusual figure has an aureole of light behind the head, the only personage so honored in the entire scene. Obviously there is more here than the catalogue cared to discuss.

A different explanation is suggested in the postscript to a review of this Salon by Paul Casimir Perier. Here he charged flatly that the description offered was not correct, claiming further that the Church forced its publication rather than the true one which it found unacceptable.<sup>67</sup> In short, the Index had been invoked to censor the artist's meaning, a procedure which Perier found ominous in

66. The subject matter here is sufficiently obscure so that it may be helpful to have the full account given in the catalogue:

"Vers la fin des religions antiques et à l'avènement dans le ciel de la Trinité chrétienne, la Mort, aidée de l'ange de la Justice et de l'Esprit, frappe les dieux qui doivent périr.

"Au centre: le Dieu nouveau expire, les bras en croix, sur le sein du Père dont la tête se voile dans les nuages. Au-dessus, dans le ciel séraphique, les bienheureux se retrouvent et s'embrassent. Quelques chérubins ailés ont les traits de la Mort, parceque celle-ci est partout.

"En arrière du groupe central apparaissent d'un côté, Adam et Eve, de l'autre la Vierge et l'enfant figurant la Chute et la Rédemption. Plus bas, sous l'arc-en-ciel, qui sert de siège au Père, d'un côté Satan lutte contre l'Ange, de l'autre, le vautour dévore Prométhée enchaîné.

"Au bas: la vieille Maia, l'Indienne, pleure sur le corps de Jupiter-Ammon et d'Isis-Cybèle à tête de vache et aux nombreuses mamelles, qui sont morts en se donnant la main, et qui furent ses contemporains.

"A gauche: Minerve, accompagnée du serpent qui lui fut consacré, s'arme de la tête de Méduse dont le sang a donné naissance à Pégase qui monte Hercule, emblème populaire de la force poétique de l'antiquité. Le demi-dieu s'étonne devant la force toute morale du Dieu nouveau. Diane-Hécate lance ses dernières flèches contre le Christ. En arrière, Apollon écorche Marsyas, figurant, à ce qu'il semble, le Triomphe de l'intelli-

gence sur la bestialité. Au fond, dans l'ombre: Odin s'avance appuyé sur une branche de frêne, écoutant les deux corneilles qui lui disent l'une le passé, l'autre l'avenir. Il est suivi du loup Fenris, toujours furieux. Près d'Odin, son fils Heimdall souffle dans son cor pour appeler les autres dieux du Nord. Au dessus: Les Parques sous l'astre changeant et plus haut l'éternelle Androgyné, symbole de l'harmonie des deux natures ou principes contraires, coiffée d'un bonnet phrygien, et assise sur sa chimère.

"A droite: Thor armé de son lourd marteau, de son gantelet et du baudrier qui double ses forces, combat le monstre Jormoungandour; lutte qui ne doit finir qu'avec le monde puisqu'elle symbolise celle du bien et du mal. Bacchus et l'Amour forment une triade avec Vénus qu'ils transportent endormie. En arrière: Mercure emporte Pandora qui s'est évanouie en ouvrant la boîte fatale. Au dessus: La Mort, l'Ange, et l'Esprit précipitent dans l'abîme Typhon d'Egypte, à la tête de chien, le noir Demiurge persan au corps de lion, ainsi que les planètes ailées et les astres enflammés.

"Dans l'angle inférieure, à droite, un spectateur placé sur un segment de la terre, en avant de la ville de Rome, indique le lieu de la vision" (*Salon de 1869. Explication des ouvrages*, Paris, 1869, No. 472).

67. Paul Casimir Perier, *Propos d'art à l'occasion du Salon de 1869. La Commission de l'index à l'exposition*, Paris, 1869, pp. 297-322.

the extreme, since if it could be employed in the case of a picture, where might it not be used next? The author was undoubtedly right, for the significance of the picture as he states it is much more in keeping with the painter's ideas, which had already encountered clerical opposition during the years of the Pantheon project. When the picture was actually removed from the Salon Carrée to an obscure gallery in the rear, the power behind the action was doubtless the same. Chenavard himself remained silent, though he said later that he had painted it only to be given to the Luxembourg, a gift which was at first refused.

Perier's interpretation is to the effect that what is depicted is the downfall of all religions including Christianity itself, and from this position all details fall into a coherent whole. Compositionally, the scythe of Death threatens the Trinity as much or more than the other gods, while above hover the winged skulls presaging universal catastrophe. Under these circumstances the divinities of Christianity need not be marked with halos for all gods are now equal.<sup>68</sup> The absence of these special attributes in the scenes of Christ's life in the Pantheon series adds credence to this hypothesis, as do Chenavard's well-known anticlerical views, now doubtless more pronounced than ever. But if all religion be lost, what will remain? The rescue of Venus and the hermaphrodite offer an answer. The goddess of beauty—dear to the mind of even so didactic a painter as Chenavard—thus saved by Love and the God Bacchus (who may here symbolize the element of genius in man) conveys the artist's belief in her immortality, as well as her independence of religious dogma. When superstition is gone, love, beauty, and genius will remain—the great inheritance from the classic past which Chenavard admired so much.

This leaves the nimbed hermaphrodite to be explained. The significance of this figure can be supplied from a knowledge of the influence of Ballanche's writings on the artist. It will be recalled that he had not only described the division of Adam into two sexes, but had forecast the eventual reunion of the two, at which time the castes in society would disappear. In one sense, the tragedy in Eden had been a loss of unity, and unity to Ballanche was one of the fundamental principles of the universe. Assuming that Chenavard had adopted this idea, the hermaphrodite would signify the restoration of man to wholeness, to a state of reason and adjustment from which he had been removed so long ago. If religion, especially Catholicism, were considered as a powerful means for the perpetuation of castes, it would only be when it was overthrown that this solution to the problem of human misery could be achieved. With man, as man, once more triumphant, and love, beauty, and genius still abroad in the world, the future would indeed seem bright. It may be objected that this was far too optimistic for Chenavard, but as he apparently saw no immediate chance of such a liberation from the dogmas he disliked or any interruption of his grim cycle, he could remain as gloomy as he wished. In the calendar, religion ceases only a scant seven hundred years before the final extinction of mankind. If the choice before society was either to do away with religion or perish miserably, many would be unable to draw much comfort from his message. Since he intended the picture as a gift to the nation, it may be that it was his final, if ambiguous, statement to his fellow citizens, a sequel to the lessons he had been prevented from teaching in the Pantheon. Curiously enough, he reported that two offers of purchase came to him, one from a Saint-Simonian and the other from the Church!<sup>69</sup>

In its interest in mankind as such, and in its persistent agnosticism, the content of his art was modern, even if expressed in terms which were almost painfully anachronistic, but the world of the later century was in no mood to understand this, even had the pictures remained on view. Although *The Divine Tragedy* was eventually received by the Luxembourg and exhibited there, it seems to have aroused no great interest. What France would have thought of the Pantheon series had it been permanently installed is difficult to guess, but almost certainly it would have been regarded

68. In a letter to Paul Mariéton, quoted by Vial ("Chenavard et Soulayr," pp. 106-107), he said that it had been painted "without enmity toward any of these divinities who all

seem to me to have equal merit. . . ."

69. Vial, *loc.cit.*

as unsatisfactory because the reading of history which it presented was too difficult and mystical to be readily understood even if the premises on which it rested could be accepted, which was also unlikely. And yet the cycle remains, in spite of being forgotten in the history of nineteenth century painting, as the one large scale effort ever made to put into pictorial form the majestic ideas of human destiny which had occupied the attention of so many literary figures in the romantic movement. The fact that Chenavard was a poor painter does not invalidate the fact that he was endowed with a sweeping vision, an epic imagination, and an enormous familiarity with both myth and history as it was understood by the intellectual circle in which he moved. His monumental pessimism can possibly be somewhat better appreciated in these days than in those of the materialistic optimism of the not-too-distant past.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



## NOTES

### GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS IN BRUGES

ROBERT KOCH

The indebtedness of that rhythmically named Dutch master Geertgen tot Sint Jans to the so-called *Monforte Adoration of the Magi* (Berlin) of Hugo van der Goes has long been recognized.<sup>1</sup> Motifs adapted from this famous painting of Hugo have been pointed out in three pictures which are generally accepted as by the hand of the Haarlem painter: the Van Mander attested *Lamentation* (Vienna), the *Raising of Lazarus* (Louvre), and the *Madonna and Child* (Berlin). For this reason virtually all modern scholars have assumed that Geertgen made a trip to Flanders as a young man, and that he might even have been a pupil of Hugo in Ghent for a short while.<sup>2</sup> We believe that this hypothetical trip to the south may at last be documented.

We have discovered a fifteenth century Flemish reference to a person who has every good chance of being Geertgen. It occurs in the archives not of Ghent but of Bruges, in the accounts not of the guild of painters but in the guild of the separately organized illuminators and bookmakers. For this reason perhaps the name has been overlooked by investigators seeking factual proof of the contact of the young northerner with the highly reputed Ghent master.

The accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the Guild of Saint John and Saint Luke, in which the illuminators, calligraphers and bookbinders of Bruges were first incorporated in 1454 by the city aldermen, were published in extenso in *Le beffroi*, IV, 1872-73, pp. 238ff. Our reference is to the account for the year 1475/76, when there is mentioned at the head of a list of ten new apprentices ("nieucommende leerkinders") one "Gheerkin de Hollandere." Sponsored by Jan Guillebert, he entered with a payment of the customary fee of 12 gros.<sup>3</sup>

1. The observation was first made by A. Goldschmidt in "Der Monforte Altar des Hugo van der Goes," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N.F. XXVI, 1915, p. 227.

2. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, p. 152, and M. J. Friedländer, *Die Alt-niederländische Malerei*, V, Berlin, 1927, pp. 18-19 and 42. Friedländer believes in a trip to Ghent, though he does not exclude the possibility that Geertgen knew the *Monforte Adoration* through one or more drawings. The only reason for the less attractive alternative solution is that this painting of Hugo would seem to be the only one reflected in the works of Geertgen.

3. p. 291: "Dit es noch ontfaen biider hand van Pieter Aradiins, als deken van nieucommende leerkinders. Eerst, Gheerkin de Hollandere, par Jan Guillebert, xii g.—"

4. This statement is made with the assumption that the reader has no credence in the identity of our painter with the painters *Gheritsz.* of 1498 and the *Ghaerhant* of 1517 who are mentioned in the accounts of S. Bavo, Haarlem (cited with inferential skepticism by Martin Davies in *Burlington Magazine*, LXX, 1937, p. 88 n. 1).

5. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 206r. The Matham inscription has been recently cited by Hoogewerff, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

Another mention of our artist in the seventeenth century is

The earliest heretofore known recording of the name of our artist<sup>4</sup> occurs about a century after his death in the report of Van Mander in 1604 and in the inscription on an engraving done by Theodor Matham between 1621 and 1630.<sup>5</sup> Each presents us with two different names. Van Mander calls him "Gheertgen tot Sint Jans" and "Gheerit van Haerlem"; while on the print he is named, in Latin, "Gerardus Leydanus," and "Geertje van Sint Jans, vernacula dicti." These vague and somewhat confused appellations have thus far thwarted archival detective work, and for a good reason. The name Gerard was perhaps second only to Jan in popularity in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, and the archives are filled with artists and craftsmen by that name. Furthermore the word suffers an incredible number of orthographic changes at the hands of various clerks of the guilds at Bruges (e.g. Gheraert, Gheraerd, Gheeraerd, Gherraert, Gherart, Gherardt, *et al.*); but unlike the name Jan it seems to have been only infrequently written in the diminutive form. Thus we have been able to find no other "Gheerkin," or "little Gerard" in an evidently Dutch spelling, in the entire accounts of the bookmakers guild, and it seems to occur only twice in the archives of the corporation of painters (the Guild of Saint Luke and Saint Eloi).<sup>6</sup>

Our "Gheerkin" does then have some distinction in addition to the all-important fact that he is recorded as having come from Holland.<sup>7</sup> That he appears in Bruges at this one moment and is not mentioned again in the archives of this city gives further credence to an identification with the young traveler who was later to become famous as a painter in Haarlem. By combining Van Mander's evidence with that of the style of his paintings most scholars have assumed that Geertgen was born ca. 1455-1460, and he is supposed to have died, at the young age of about 28, ca. 1490. An appearance by

made on a drawing which is presumed to be a portrait of Geertgen. It is inscribed "Gheerit, Schilder van die Heeren van sint Jans oerden to Haerlem. (The drawing is preserved in the City Archives of Haarlem; reproduced in A. Châtelet, "A propos des Johannites de Haarlem et du retable peint par Geertgen tot Sint Jans," *L'architecture monastique, actes et travaux de la rencontre Franco-Allemande des historiens d'art* (1951), Numero Special du *Bulletin des relations artistiques France-Allemagne*, Mayence, 1951.)

6. One *Gherken Vaercoven* is mentioned during the years 1453-1456, and in 1474 there occurs the name of the glass-painter *Ghoorkin van Hazinhiele*, if this indeed be a variation of the name "Gerard" (C. van den Haute, *La corporation des peintres de Bruges*, Bruges, n.d., pp. 3 and 19).

We have not considered that variation, apparently Flemish rather than Dutch in spelling, which omits the second "r." It occurs frequently (e.g. Gheeraedt, Geeraedt, Gheraet) and might also be considered, like van Mander's "Gheerit," to be in the diminutive. Gerard David however is called "Gheeraedt" in these same archives (see below, n. 12).

7. Not infrequently are Dutch artists recorded in the accounts of both guilds in Bruges, a mecca for artists from many parts of Europe, either as apprentices or as already trained masters.

him in Bruges in 1475 would correspond nicely with this putative birthdate. It would also fit well the probable date of Hugo van der Goes' *Monforte Altar*, ca. 1470/71, which so impressed Geertgen when he saw it either during or after his short stay in Bruges.<sup>8</sup>

The only drawback that we can envisage in our argument that the "Gheerkin de Hollandere" in Bruges in 1475 equals Geertgen tot Sint Jans could be that his "sponsor," Jan Guillebert, was a noted bookbinder in the guild and, so far as we know, not himself an illuminator.<sup>9</sup> This does not necessarily mean however that Geertgen was apprenticed to learn the art of bookbinding. His interests most certainly would have taken him immediately to the workshops of the leading miniaturists in the guild at that time: Philippe de Mazerolles, Loyset Liedet, and Geertgen's fellow countryman Willem Vreland. To Geertgen in fact Friedländer attributed, and no one since has categorically rejected, the little miniature painting on parchment (10 x 7 cm.) of a Madonna and Child in the Ambrosiana in Milan.<sup>10</sup> Hoogewerff has called it a youthful work by the Master;<sup>11</sup> and we are of course now tempted to date it in, or shortly after, the year 1475 when Geertgen was a student in Bruges. That the style of this tiny painting seems to bear no special relationship to that of any of the above-named Bruges illuminators need not vitiate this argument if one assumes that Geertgen had had some early training in Holland, and hence that he may well have developed a style of his own, of sorts, before the trip to Flanders.

If this identification of "Gheerkin de Hollandere" is correct, we may make the following conclusions anent the trip of Geertgen. He came between the ages of 15 and 20 to Bruges, in 1475. He entered the guild of bookmakers with the intention of practicing manuscript illumination; but he left the guild, and presumably Bruges, in the same year. In all likelihood he returned to Holland via Ghent, where he would have come in contact with the *Monforte Altar*. The sojourn would thus have been a *wanderjahr* either immediately after, or perhaps just before, he joined Albert van Ouwater in Holland, as claimed by Van Mander. It is interesting to note that our artist would hence have preceded to Bruges by nine years another great Gerard from Hol-

land, the painter and illuminator Gerard David, who elected to remain in Flanders.<sup>12</sup> \*

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## ANTONIO GENTILI OR MANNO SBARRI?

WOLFGANG LOTZ\*

The recent publication by Rudolf Berliner of a preparatory drawing by Antonio Gentili for a silver-gilt crucifix in St. Peter's, Rome, has added an important new element to our knowledge of one of the outstanding monuments of the goldsmith's art in the Late Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> However, the history of the piece would seem to be rather more complex than Dr. Berliner suggests, at least in its initial stage. The following remarks may help to clarify this aspect of the problem.

Dr. Berliner takes it for granted that the crucifix, together with the two candlesticks, was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese from Antonio Gentili in 1578 and finished four years later. Such is indeed the conclusion to be drawn from the inscription of the engraving by Gentili showing the rear elevation of the crucifix, as well as from the notice concerning these objects in the *Aviso di Roma* of June 9, 1582.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, according to a last will and testament of the Cardinal dated 1574—a document hitherto unknown to scholarly literature, as far as I am aware—the cross and candlesticks were already in existence at that time, albeit in an unfinished state. The same source informs us that they were the work, not of Antonio Gentili but of Manno Sbarri, the same Florentine goldsmith who made the Cassetta Farnese in Naples. I saw and excerpted a copy of this will in the Archivio di Stato of Naples before its destruction during the last war. Since, for all I know, this may well have been the only text of the document to have survived into recent times, I am reproducing, in the Appendix, my transcript of the sections concerning the cross and candlesticks as well as certain other works of art.

How are we to reconcile these conflicting claims? At first glance, the statements in the will of 1574 may

8. Nearly everyone is agreed now on the period 1470-1475 for this distinguished painting of Hugo. The location of the painting after its execution is not known, but as northern adaptations attest it did not go to Spain until well into the sixteenth century.

Albert Châtelet has argued recently (*loc.cit.*) that Geertgen executed the Vienna *Lamentation* in the fourteen-sixties. But the fact alone of its dependence on Hugo's *Monforte Altar*, to which so early a date cannot be ascribed, seems to us to vitiate Châtelet's argument.

9. Thieme-Becker, xv, p. 306.

10. Friedländer first made the attribution in "Geertgen tot Sint Jans," *Jahrbuch der königl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, xxiv, 1903, p. 63, and later in his *Altniederländische Malerei*, v, no. 9 (p. 37). Winkler, accepting the attribution (*Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, p. 178, fig. 111), states that it "proves more clearly than the other works of Geertgen his close relationship to bookpainting. It is as though

it were a page from a prayerbook."

11. *op.cit.*, pp. 164-165.

12. Gerard David entered the Guild of St. Luke in Bruges as a master painter "from abroad" on January 14, 1484. The archival mention calls him "Gheeraedt Jans, f. Davidt" (Gerard, son of Jan David). The discovery was first made and the document published in *Le beffroi*, II, Bruges, 1864-65, p. 288.

\* The author owes special thanks for encouragement and valuable advice to Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

\* Author and editor are indebted to Mrs. Dora Jane Janson for her translation of this note.

1. "Two Contributions to the Criticism of Drawings Related to Decorative Art: I," *ART BULLETIN*, xxxiii, 1951, pp. 51ff.

2. See Berliner, *op.cit.*



seem to carry little weight against the explicit testimony of Gentili's engraving: "Antonius Gentili Faentinus aurifex inventor sculpsit." One might also be inclined to doubt whether the crucifix referred to in the document is identical with the one in St. Peter's. There are, however, some further sources to corroborate the evidence of the will. Manno Sbarri himself, in a letter of June 28, 1561, addressed to the Cardinal at Caprarola, acknowledges the commission: "poco innanzi alla partita di V. Ill.ma S.ria (i.e. the Cardinal's departure from Rome earlier in the month) quella mi commesse che io dovessi attendere alla Croce et alli Candelieri. Io ho dato ordine, et posso, ad ogni hora che V. Ill.ma S. vorrà, cominciar a lavorare. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the little book by Angelo Rocca, *De particula ex pretioso et vivifico ligno sanctissimae crucis*, Rome, 1609, again mentions Manno as the maker of the cross and candlesticks (pp. 44ff.): "Anno 1550 in usus sacrarii basilicae conflatus [sc. the famous silver cross donated to St. Peter's by Charlemagne] et conversus in calices, in crucem altaris pulcherrimam inauratam cum duobus candelabris magnis argenteis, quae a Manno Pisano aurifice egregio opere fabrefactae, item in duas Petri et Pauli apostolorum statuas ad usum altaris a domino Manno elaboratas, atque in sex alia candelabra minora, ut notant libri sacristiae dicti anni, relicto schemate et exemplo dicti sanctissimi crucifixi [i.e. the cross of Charlemagne] in eodem sacrario ad hanc diem."<sup>4</sup>

These notices, it seems to me, support each other and permit us to reconstruct the early history of the commission with considerable exactitude. In 1550, the silver cross of Charlemagne is melted down; in 1561 Manno receives the commission for a cross, two or more candlesticks, and some additional objects, all of them to be fashioned from the metal of Charlemagne's cross. At the master's death in 1571<sup>5</sup> the candlesticks, the cross, and the pax, referred to in the will of 1574 as "alquantulum imperfecta," must have been among the unfinished objects in his workshop. In accordance with the notice in the *Aviso di Roma* and with Gentili's engraving, the latter artist was charged in 1578 with the completion of Manno's work, a task which he finished four years later.

If we have reconstructed this course of events correctly, the seeming conflict between the evidence of the engraving and Gentili's signature on the right arm of the cross,<sup>6</sup> on the one hand, and Rocca's statement of 1609 that the cross and the candelabra were "a Manno Pisano aurifice egregio opere fabrefactae," can be resolved by assuming that the two goldsmiths in question executed different parts of the commission. Perhaps it is not without significance that the engraving was issued only after the Cardinal's death (i.e. not before 1589);<sup>7</sup>

thus the patron himself was no longer in a position to contest Gentili's somewhat exaggerated claims. We shall now have to examine the cross in order to see whether it is possible to determine the division of labor through internal evidence. Unfortunately, the available photographs are not clear enough for detailed study, nor have I been able to inspect the original in the treasury of St. Peter's, so that my conclusions must, for the time being, be regarded as tentative.

Ernst Kris has noted<sup>8</sup> that the pedestals of the cross and candelabra incorporate certain carved rock crystals by Giovanni dei Bernardi da Castelbolognese (d. 1553). These *cristalli*, mentioned in Vasari's *Vita* of Valerio Belli, were made between 1539 and 1547. They are presumably identical with those referred to in the Cardinal's will of 1574. The wording of this document suggests that at that time they had not yet been set in the cross and candelabra. We may assume, then, at least as a working hypothesis, that the *cristalli* were fitted into place after that date, i.e. by the hand of Antonio Gentili.

On examining the cross itself we may note that the medallions which frame the round crystals on the arms, and the foot, with its supporting slaves, containing the oval crystal, do not seem fully integrated with the rest. Also, the foot seems a bit out of scale with the aediculae resting upon it. Their severely classicistic design stands in striking contrast with the undulant, dynamic ornamentation of the pedestal. In much the same way, the elaborate terminal medallions contrast with the cross proper, which is framed much more simply. A curious feature of the drawing in the Cooper Union Museum published by Dr. Berliner may be added to these observations. Judging by the reverse side,<sup>9</sup> the top edge of the sheet has been trimmed little if at all, but when we turn to the recto,<sup>10</sup> the drawing for the St. Peter's cross, we have the impression that Antonio Gentili either cut off or took for granted some further extension of the piece beyond the two halves of the console which crowd so close to the upper edge. Perhaps, then, we are justified in concluding that the design was intended for the foot alone (into which Gentili presumably had to incorporate the crystals). This would corroborate our hypothesis that the foot and the terminal medallions on the arms are by Antonio; the cross proper, and the aediculae, by Manno. The attribution of the crucifix to Manno finds further support in the striking resemblance of the figure of Christ to Benvenuto Cellini's marble crucifix in the Escorial.<sup>11</sup> The latter was completed in 1562, while Manno received his commission for the cross in 1561. This similarity can hardly be coincidence, since the teacher-pupil relationship of the two masters

3. Published by A. Ronchini in *Atti e Memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, VII, 1874, p. 139. The rest of the letter concerns the Cassetta Farnese.

4. The passage, already excerpted by Giacomo Grimaldi, was noted by Cornel v. Fabriczy in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, VII, 1894, p. 149.

5. See Fabriczy, *loc.cit.*

6. See *Bollettino d'arte*, XXVI, 1932-33, p. 229.

7. The inscription on the engraving includes the phrase, "l'Ill.mo Card. Farnese di felice memoria."

8. In *Dedalo*, IX, 1928-29, pp. 97ff.

9. Berliner, *op.cit.*, fig. 2.

10. *ibid.*, fig. 1.

11. As noted by F. W. Volbach in *Burlington Magazine*, XC, 1948, p. 285.



is confirmed by Cellini himself.<sup>12</sup> Gentili, on the other hand, had no contact with Cellini, as far as we know.

Dr. Berliner, in his subtle analysis of the Cooper Union drawing, has pointed out the difference between the rendering of the two *ignudi* and the rest of the design. He suggests that, in the case of the two figures, the artist may have been working from models: "A date about, or even before, 1550 seems to me probable for the formulation of the poses in which they appear in the drawing." These perceptive observations need in no way conflict with our hypothesis, since it is not impossible that the two slaves represent figures completed for the cross by Manno, which upon his death were handed over, unmounted, to Gentili along with the rest of the unfinished commission.

Even though many of the problems connected with the works we have been considering can be unraveled only upon thorough examination of the originals, I hope at least to have fulfilled a hope expressed by Cornel von Fabriczy fifty-eight years ago—that the works of Manno for St. Peter's, mentioned in the sources, might some day be brought to light: "e sarebbe cosa meritevole per chi si trova sul luogo, di torre l'assunto di verificare dagl'inventari la loro esistenza, e d'investigare se forse sull'uno o l'altro dei pezzi non si trovi scritto il nome o la siglia dell'artefice." The path I have pursued is, to be sure, different from that suggested by Fabriczy; and to Dr. Berliner must go the credit of pointing it out to me.

#### APPENDIX

##### *Last Will and Testament of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, 1574*

Reliquit Basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe et in dictae basilicae perpetuo retinenda duo candelabra et crucem argentea per magistrum manum (sic) aurificem cum cristallij una cum pace elaborata licet alquantulum imperfecta quae si tempore mortis testatoris perfecta non fuerint, perficiantur sumptibus haereditatis; et etiam eidem basilicae reliquit calcem (sc., calicem) auream cum patena et ampulis auri. . . .

Voluit ut sua sepultura sit in ecclesia Jesus per testatorem fabricari cepta et sepulcrum construat cum ornamentis et una statua marmoreis et et (sic) inscriptione executoribus benevisa (sic) et pro his expendant scuta mille tantum. . . .

Reliquit ecclesiae S. ti Laurentii in Damaso ora parnamenta (sic) quibus idem testator utetur in cele-

bratione missarum et processionibus aliisque divinis. . . .

Reliquit ecclesiae del Jesu suppellectilia ora quibus utitur in capella sui palati ac paramenta ad servitium eiusdem deputata cum calicis pacis candelabris cruce ampulis et aliis tam argentiis quam altris. . . .

Reliquit Dominae Victoriae Ducissae Urbini eius sorori offitium beate virginis elaboratum et miniatum a.d. Julio miniatore et servitore dicti testatoris. . . . Naples, Archivio di Stato, Carte Farnesiane, fasc. 1414, II (copy, late sixteenth century; clerical errors not corrected).

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### PAGNINI, VIGERIO, AND THE SISTINE CEILING: A REPLY

FREDERICK HARTT

In a recent article I pointed out certain discrepancies between the interpretations adduced by Mr. Edgar Wind in support of a theory regarding the meaning of the cycle of ancestors of Christ in the lunettes of the Sistine Chapel and the relevant texts as they are actually to be encountered.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wind has replied by means of a comprehensive attack upon my article, closing with a renewed invitation to read the *Isagogae* of Sante Pagnini, which his "full bibliographical reference" and description "in detail . . . should enable any serious student to consult" (WAB, p. 46 n. 34). I have recently consulted the *Isagogae*,<sup>2</sup> and am enabled to confirm the propriety of a celebrated quotation adopted by Mr. Wind to describe the relation between Pagnini and the Sistine Ceiling—"S'il n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer" (WGBA, p. 232).

#### I

I am taken to task (WAB, p. 41) for "avoiding any reference" to the "large group of Renaissance sermons, tracts and anthologies" Mr. Wind mentions in his previous article (WGBA, p. 225 n. 39). This criticism would be more relevant had Mr. Wind himself ever quoted from these sources, but the reader will find only two page references, and not a syllable quoted or paraphrased from a single one of these sermons, tracts, and

12. *Vita di B.C.*, ed. Franc. Tassi, Florence, 1829, I, p. 381: "... un buon garzone che io avevo, che si domandava Manno. . . ."

1. I shall make use of the following bibliographical indications:

HAB: Frederick Hartt, "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi, the Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling," ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 115-145 and 181-218.

WGBA: Edgar Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo, A Study of the Succession of Savonarola," *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, XXVI, 1944 (appeared in 1947), pp. 211-246.

WAB: *idem*, "Typology in the Sistine Ceiling; a Criti-

cal Statement" ART BULLETIN, XXXIII, 1951, pp. 41-47.

*Isagogae*: Sante Pagnini, *Isagogae ad Sacras Literas liber unicus. Eiusdem Isagogae ad Mysticos Sacrae Scripturae Sensus libri XVII*. Lyon, 1536.

*Decachordum*: Marco Vigerio, *Decachordum Christianum*, Fano, 1507.

2. I wish to express my gratitude to Washington University for a post-doctoral fellowship during the summer of 1951, which enabled me to carry out research in Europe on other projects and, at the same time, to consult the *Isagogae* in the British Museum Library and the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. My colleague, Prof. Philip de Lacy, has kindly checked my Latin translations.

anthologies, ostensibly (although Mr. Wind avoids stating this exactly) the basis for his arguments. The following crucial statements are wholly unsupported: "The genealogy is a recurrent subject for sermons on the vices and virtues" (WGBA, p. 228); "Many of Michelangelo's interpretations correspond to those used in contemporary sermons" (WGBA, p. 230); "The 'coming of Christ' signified a battle of the Virtues against the Vices" (WGBA, p. 227).

This "coming of Christ" Mr. Wind places at Easter, with a preparation during the forty days of Lent with which he connects the forty names of the ancestors.<sup>3</sup> The correspondence between the days of Lent and the number of generations "is the reason why in many theological treatises, among others Pagnini's *Isagogae*, some of the problems of the Genealogy are discussed under Quadragesima." None of these treatises is cited. Worse, in the *Isagogae*, *Quadragesima* does not occur as a heading at all; the forty ancestors are mentioned under *Quadragesima*. Pagnini cites no conflict between virtues and vices in connection with the ancestors, and the generations are compared numerically with "that season which leads laboriously toward Christ," but without the slightest reference to a *Psychomachia*.<sup>4</sup> The statement that "Michelangelo himself also thought of a quadragesimal cycle, as is *proved* [italics mine] by his selection of prophets," is left unadorned.

According to Mr. Wind "in Michelangelo's plan a picture of a vice appears opposite to each picture of a virtue, both of them signified by Hebrew names." One would assume that all forty ancestors had been tabulated, and found to consist of twenty vices and twenty virtues. Yet just six are interpreted, of which only two face each other directly. What about the other thirty-four? They were not mentioned in the original article nor in the recent comments.

Mr. Wind's method of obtaining this fragmentary documentation invites analysis. "To extract the secret from a Hebrew name it is first necessary to find the Latin equivalent in the Onomasticon of St. Jerome (or in the appendix of a Renaissance Bible). The Latin translation, which generally consists of one or two words, for example, *magister confusionis* for the name Zorobabel, makes little sense unless a passage is found in the Bible in which these words are expanded into a full sentence . . . for example, 'deus non est magister confusionis sed pacis' (1 Corinthians XIV, 37)." Are we

to understand, then, that a twentieth century scholar, by means of "a drill in the use of the Concordance," can find the passages considered relevant in the sixteenth? I have already pointed out the obvious loopholes in Mr. Wind's "game of riddles" (HAB, p. 203 n. 161). It is puzzling, therefore, that Mr. Wind, while complaining that I leave "the reader with the impression that the extremely speculative method employed in these Renaissance texts had been" his "own invention," can do no better than refer us back to the pages in his previous study in which none of these Renaissance texts was quoted. Sante Pagnini, for example, gives no one *carte blanche* to pick his own passages from a Concordance, and although he is eloquent on the utility of knowing the meanings of Hebrew names, he provides no rules for Mr. Wind's game.<sup>5</sup>

The meanings given by St. Jerome and by Renaissance Bibles<sup>6</sup> for the six interpreted ancestors are not identical with those provided by Mr. Wind<sup>7</sup> which enable him to find passages that transform Aminadab, Boaz, and Jechonias from virtues into vices. "My voluntary people" becomes "My people have forgotten me days without number," hence the "vices of worldliness and oblivion." "In whom is wood, or in him is fortitude, or in fortitude"<sup>8</sup> turns out to be the "vice of idolatry."<sup>9</sup> And "preparing, or preparation of the Lord" is presented as *Discordia* (WGBA, p. 230). No explanation has yet been offered save that the "discovery of the relevance of the Hebrew names on Michelangelo's tablets was based on a *comparative study of Renaissance sermons and commentaries* [italics mine]" (WAB, p. 42).

## II

"For a full statement of the vice associated with Aminadab" Mr. Wind refers us to "St. Gregory's Commentary to Canticles VI, 12, where the words of the bride, 'Nescivi, anima mea conturbavit me propter quadrigas Aminadab' are paraphrased as signifying the darkness of ignorance. . . ." I pointed out that Mr. Wind omitted the rest of the passage in which the *Quadrigae Aminadab*, so far from signifying a vice, foreshadow the four gospels of Christ which disturbed the Synagogue.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Pagnini, when interrogated on the subject of Aminadab, testified firmly against Mr. Wind,<sup>11</sup> quoting word for word the passage in Gregory which Mr. Wind had omitted, and

3. Although during Lent Christ was on earth, and although Easter is not his coming but his Resurrection and the preparation for his departure.

4. *Isagogae*, p. 725.

5. The most mysterious aspect of the situation is the fact that on page 46, WAB, Mr. Wind *quotes* my statement that he "never once quotes" from Pagnini, and still sees nothing wrong with his method.

6. Witness the Bibles cited in my note 161, HAB, p. 203.

7.	St. Jerome	Mr. Wind
Aminadab	<i>Populus meus voluntarius</i>	<i>Populus meus</i>
Naason	<i>Augurans, or serpens eorum</i>	<i>Augurium, or enigma</i>
Boaz	<i>In quo robur, in ipso fortitudo, or in fortitudine</i>	<i>In quo est robur</i>
Jechonias	<i>Praeparans, or praeparatio domini</i>	<i>Praeparans</i>

Josaphat	<i>Ipse iudicans, or dominus iudicabit</i>	<i>Ipse iudicans</i>
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Zorobabel	<i>Ipse magister Babylonis, id est confusionis</i>	<i>Magister confusionis</i>
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8. I have already pointed out the connection between *robur* and *Rovere*, (HAB, p. 206 n. 174), and the fact that in the Stanza della Segnatura *Fortitudo* holds fast to a little *rovere* tree.

9. Through what clairvoyance can Boaz be described as a "mad, superstitious carpenter engaged upon a journey" (WGBA, p. 229), when he has no carpenter's tools and is sitting down?

10. For a further exposition of the wheels of Aminadab, cf. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Oxford, 1934, p. 130 n. 2.

11. *Isagogae*, p. 727.



concluding that "this Aminadab is Christ," and that the "chariots of Aminadab are the four gospels."<sup>12</sup> If Mr. Wind still wants to convict Aminadab of oblivion, or ignorance, or some other vice, he will have to find another witness than Pagnini.

While perusing Pagnini I discovered a possible source for Mr. Wind's version of the translation of Naason. Under the word "*aenigma*" Pagnini quotes St. Augustine's remarks on the famous passage from I Corinthians XIII, "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate."<sup>13</sup> The name of Naason never turns up in this connection, nor have I been able to find it elsewhere in the *Isagogae*. Apparently Mr. Wind utilized this passage on "*aenigma*" to explain the mirror (*speculum*) held by Naason's wife. He is as yet unimpressed that an ancestor whose name means serpent is placed by Michelangelo under the *Brazen Serpent*.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Wind (WGBA, p. 231) explains "why Josaphat . . . is represented as writing. According to Pagnini, the moralization of *ipse judicans* is to be found in Job xxxi, 35: *librum scribat ipse qui iudicat* (let him who judges also write the book)." The actual passage from Pagnini (for which Mr. Wind gave no page reference) taken from an entirely different context, makes no allusion to Josaphat or to the phrase "*ipse judicans*."<sup>15</sup>

### III

The case of Jechonias and Salathiel (Fig. 5) is even more instructive. "His picture of Jechonias (which is translated as *preparans*) illustrates the vice of *Discordia*, and shows a vigorously quarreling couple whose children play with a little stone. The 'Stone of Jechonias' as a symbol of *preparans* occurs in a rather obscure passage of St. Gregory in which he discusses this particular Ancestor of Christ, but which does not seem to have influenced any of the classical Renaissance sermons on the Genealogy" (WGBA, p. 230). I pointed out (HAB, p. 210 n. 194) numerous objections, chiefly that the

small and shapeless object is probably not a stone,<sup>16</sup> certainly not the cornerstone Gregory refers to, from Psalm cxviii,<sup>17</sup> and that Mr. Wind interpreted the entire lunette as Jechonias, in text and in captions, indicating nowhere that Salathiel's name also appears there. Mr. Wind now states that he did not mention Salathiel because he was "explaining the name Jechonias," and that I was trying to "disprove Pagnini's," not his "interpretation of Gregory's passage on Jechonias."

Actually at one point Pagnini quotes from Gregory the precise phrases which Mr. Wind omits and in which, as I stated, "Jechonias is the *type* of the cornerstone because of his crucial position at the end of one group of fourteen and the beginning of another, and because he is King at the beginning of the Babylonian captivity" (HAB, p. 210 n. 194).<sup>18</sup> A second passage from Pagnini characterizes Jechonias, the supposed allegory of Discord, in these words: "Jechonias, where the cornerstone is prefigured by him, is to be interpreted as the preparation of God."<sup>19</sup>

### IV

"If we are to comprehend the particular shade of religious doctrine expressed in Michelangelo's frescoes of the Sistine Ceiling, we shall find it less in Savonarola's own writings than in those of the learned Sante Pagnini who," Mr. Wind writes (WGBA, p. 215, and n. 13) "... appears to have been the favorite theologian of Julius II himself." This assertion<sup>20</sup> is supported solely by the citation of a Life of Pagnini without page reference.<sup>21</sup> In a later article,<sup>22</sup> Mr. Wind repeats the claim, declaring that Pagnini's "*Isagogae* . . . was deliberately composed after the model of St. Augustine. By the time Michelangelo came to Rome, this was the official theology of the papal court."

A scholar proposing such a thesis might feel obliged to demonstrate the presence of Sante Pagnini at the papal court at least once, his intimacy with the Pope,

12. *loc.cit.*, "Iste Aminadab Christus est, & huius quadrigae collisae sunt in plateis, occurrentes occurrentibus sibi quadrigis superbi huius saeculi. . . . Quadrigae Aminadab quatuor sunt Evangelia, de quibus nobis contra Ninivem quatuor magna praedicantur sacramenta, incarnatio ipsius Aminadab, cuius facies, facies est hominis, passio eiusdem, quae facies est vituli, resurrectio eius, quae facies est facies leonis, ascensio eiusdem, quae facies est aquilae volantis."

13. *ibid.*, p. 17, "De aenigmate autem, & tropicis locutionibus rursus Augustinus libro de trinitate decimoquinto, capite nono, hoc pacto scribit, enarrans illud Apostolum, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate."

14. cf. below, sec. VIII for the exact correspondence as drawn by Hrabanus between the Serpent of Naason and the Brazen Serpent.

15. *Isagogae*, p. 480, "Quid liber mysticè significet, divus insinuat Gregorius libro Moralium 22, capite 19, exponens illud Iob, Et librum scribat ipse qui iudicat."

16. On page 210, HAB, I stated the possibility that the small object is a piece of bread, "like the loaf in the Ozias spandrel and the piece which Solomon gives to David on a plate."

17. Appearing with Jonah cast up by the whale, and Samson carrying the gates of Gaza in most editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

18. *Moralia in Job*, Migne, LXXVI, col. 459. If Mr. Wind's "obscure" refers to Gregory's meaning, surely that is clear

enough. And if the work itself is characterized as obscure, why is its title lettered on the volume at Gregory's feet in the *Disputa*? The passage reads, "De hoc lapide per Prophetam dicitur: *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli* (Psalm CXVIII, 22). Huius lapidis typum Jechonias rex tenuit, quem Matthaeus dum quaterdenas generationes describeret, secundo numeravit. Quem enim fini secundae, ipsum rursus initio tertiae generationis inseruit. Ipse namque in Babyloniam cum Israelitica plebe migratus est, qui dum ab aliis ad alia ducitur, pro utriusque parietis latere non immerito secundo numeratur. Cuius migrationis flexu angularem lapidem designat." Quoted *Isagogae*, p. 444.

19. *ibid.*, p. 725, "Et hoc ipsum iam praefigurabat Christum à circumcissione ad praeputium, tanquam ad Hierusalem, ad Babyloniam quodammodo migraturum, & hinc, atque hinc utrisque in se credentibus tanquam lapidem angularem futurum. Haec tunc in figura praeparabat Deus, rebus in veritate venturis. Nam & ipse Jechonias, ubi angulus iste praefiguratus est, interpretatur praeparatio Dei."

20. Mr. Wind's often conflicting assertions regarding Sante Pagnini's importance scarcely present a coherent picture of his theory.

21. Guglielmo Abbate Pagnino, *Vita di Santi Pagnino Lucchese dell' ordine de' Predicatori*, Rome, 1653.

22. "The Ark of Noah, A Study in the Symbolism of Michelangelo," *Measure*, I, 1950, p. 421.



honors, offices and emoluments received from the Pope's hands, and certainly some kind of relationship between his doctrines and the known beliefs and program of the Pope. Yet no attempt of this sort is ever made. Instead Mr. Wind recounts to us what the Pope did *not* do for Sante Pagnini (WGBA, p. 231): "Julius II wished to make him a cardinal, but was thwarted in this attempt by the Sacred College. The characteristic manner in which the enterprise failed leaves no doubt that Pagnini was the Pope's personal candidate."<sup>23</sup> In the accompanying note we are referred to Pastor for "the stormy discussions attending the nomination of cardinals under Julius II."

Mr. Wind's elusive wording tempted me to look up the biography; it proved to consist of only 74 tiny pages, written in a style whose effusive vagueness does not disguise its author's lack of precise information.<sup>24</sup> Few actual events of Pagnini's life are mentioned. On page 24 is a reference to the great honors Julius wanted to bestow on Pagnini, and on page 61 appears this jewel: "In an old manuscript book, entitled History of Lucca by M. Nicolò Tucci . . . the following words are read in the ninth volume, at folio 380. . . . At the death of Pope Pius III was assumed Julius II, great friend and protector of the Lucchese, at whose instance<sup>25</sup> he promoted to the dignity of the Cardinalate Galeotto Franciotti, their bishop and citizen . . . and it was hoped that he would assume also the following year<sup>26</sup> SANTI PAGNINO [italics mine] also Lucchese, unique and most famous theologian of that time, if envy, inseparable enemy of virtue, had not at the same time kept from them that favor and from him that reward due to his virtuous labors."<sup>27</sup>

This is the sole evidence for the characterization of Pagnini as the Pope's "protégé," "personal candidate" and "favorite theologian." As for "the characteristic manner in which the enterprise failed," that is quite simple. It never took place at all, as is shown by Mr. Wind's own references to Pastor.<sup>28</sup> Although the college of cardinals often opposed Julius' nominations because they wanted to keep their number as small as possible, they succeeded only once, on November 12, 1505, and in the case of only one candidate.<sup>29</sup> On the chance that this disappointed individual might still have been Sante Pagnini, I looked up the name, not given by Pastor but easy to determine from the sources he cites.

23. For this statement the same biography is cited as for the first, and also without page reference.

24. Note for example on page 36 his new Pope, "Adriano settimo, che succede a Leone."

25. A further instance of ignorance. Julius II appointed Franciotti among the first two cardinals, on November 29, 1503, because he was the son of the Pope's sister, Lucchina. Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, St. Louis, 1923, VI, p. 219. The bishopric of Lucca was only one of his many benefices; Franciotti's principal position was papal vice-chancellor.

26. No cardinals were nominated "the following year" (1504).

27. "In un libro antico manoscritto, che s'intitola Historie di Lucca di M. Nicolò Tucci . . . si leggono parimente nel libro nono à fol. 380 l'infrascritte parole. . . . Per la morte di Pio III Pontefice, fù assunto Giulio II grande amico, e protet-

Burchard presented the list of the ten names nominated by Julius II;<sup>30</sup> Sanudo, the nine actually confirmed by the Sacred College.<sup>31</sup> The name present on the proposed list but missing from the appointments should be that of the unsuccessful candidate. It was Bandinello Sauli, papal secretary and protonotary,<sup>32</sup> whom the Pope finally did get appointed in the fourth list, March 10, 1511.

## V

Mr. Wind has warned us that "in the hands of a casual historian of art" the *Isagogae* of Sante Pagnini "might easily share the fate of Ripa's *Iconologia*, for the subjects are presented in alphabetical order, and spurious knowledge can be quickly acquired. But the danger is mitigated by the defects of the system. The alphabetical arrangement hides rather than reveals the richest treasures. . . . No obvious reference, for instance, indicates that the book gives decisive information on that most tantalizing problem of the Sistine Ceiling, Michelangelo's representation of the Ancestors of Christ" (WGBA, pp. 217-218). Mr. Wind does not limit his admiration to the defenses offered by the *Isagogae*, a folio volume of 858 pages. He refers us also to the unpublished manuscripts of Egidio da Viterbo, and to the destroyed manuscripts of Sante Pagnini (WAB, p. 47 n. 36), presumably impregnable.

Let us examine the treasures hoarded by the *Isagogae*, described as "an encyclopedic attempt to codify the mystical interpretations of Scripture, . . . a great allegorical superstructure on his grammatical labors. . . . Though rarely quoted and soon forgotten, the book represents the biblical *Summa* of the Italian Renaissance" (WGBA, p. 217).

It comes as a surprise to discover that the *Isagogae* is nothing but a dictionary of the mystical meanings of nouns used in the Bible, beginning with *abyssus* and ending with *uxor*. If you wish to find out the mystical connotations of, shall we say, "book," or "sword," or "cock," or the number forty, all you have to do is look it up. Each article, usually about two pages long, begins with the same formula, e.g. (p. 498), "Quid lilium mysticè significet." The meanings are justified by passages from the Old and New Testaments, the four Church Fathers, and a handful of other theologians. Judging from the limited number of authors he cites,

tore de' lucchesi, ad istanza de quali promosse alla dignità del cardinalato Galeotto Franciotti Vescovo, e Cittadino loro . . . e si sperava dovesse assumervi anco l'anno seguente SANTI PAGNINO pur lucchese, singolare, e famosissimo theologo di quel tempo, se per invidia inseparabile nemica della virtù non avesse nel medesimo tempo impedita à loro quella grazia, & à lui quel premio dovuto alle sue virtuose fatiche."

28. *op.cit.*, pp. 220ff., 284ff., 343ff.

29. *ibid.*, p. 221.

30. Johannes Burchard, *Diarium, sive rerum urbanarum commentarii*, Paris, ed. L. Thuasne, 1885, III, p. 408.

31. Marin Sanudo, *I diarii*, Venice, 1878ff., VI, p. 269.

32. cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, p. 344, and Hefele-Hergenröther, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1887, VIII, p. 428. It is scarcely a surprise, in view of the Pope's preference for his fellow countrymen, to discover that Sauli was a Genoese.

Pagnini's knowledge of theological literature does not seem unusually detailed.<sup>33</sup>

Nor does Pagnini, cited as "supplying decisive information" about the Genealogy of Christ on the Sistine Ceiling, quote a single word from Matthew I, as far as I have been able to discover. Only a few of the ancestors are mentioned in the *Isagogae*, and then only those found in the Old Testament, and in support of arguments concerning other subjects. Mr. Wind recounts eloquently "the obstacles attending any attempt to reconstruct the theology of Julius II. A toilsome discipline is required to touch only the periphery of the subject" (WAB, p. 47).<sup>34</sup> The wayfarer toward this Parnassus may well stop short of Pagnini. The *Isagogae* is not a theology at all, nor does it pretend to be one, and there is no evidence to show that it has any more to do with Julius II, who died twenty-three years before its publication, than had its Dominican author. If we are to believe Mr. Wind, Symphorien Champier in his preface "declared it to represent the accumulated labors of Pagnini's life" (WGBA, p. 217). "Its size, its content, and the editorial preface by Symphorien Champier, all indicate that it is the final statement of theories which he had entertained over a lifetime" (WAB, p. 46). Unfortunately, there is not a word to this effect in Champier's preface. Indeed the only phrases in which the compilation of the *Isagogae* is mentioned indicate rather the reverse—that the work was done in France at the end of Pagnini's life.<sup>35</sup>

And if Pagnini "can be proved to have held a key position during the time in which the Sistine Ceiling was painted" (WAB, p. 46), is it not strange that such sensitive instruments as Hefele-Hergenröther, Pastor, Ranke, and Creighton should not record a single witness of his presence in Rome, his correspondence with the Papacy, or even his existence, among the hundreds of separate personalities with whom their comprehensive histories deal during the reign of Julius II? The answer is simple enough. Only under Leo X did this obscure Hebraist turn up in Rome.<sup>36</sup> Incidentally, why, if the meanings of the Hebrew names of the ancestors are generally to be encountered in the back of a Renaissance printed Bible, should the intervention of a Hebraist be necessary at all?<sup>37</sup> Finally, a Hebraist who spent

several pages (*Isagogae*, pp. 43ff.) demonstrating that it was both ridiculous and impious to believe that God possesses "nostrils, teeth, beard and those inner and outer members which to us are necessary," would scarcely seem appropriate to the interpretation of the Sistine Ceiling in which the Lord appears five times in complete anthropomorphic guise.

Mr. Wind is concerned that Vigerio is "the only theologian of the sixteenth century from whom Mr. Hartt professes to have obtained any illumination at all." It is not necessarily the number of contemporary sources listed in footnotes but the relevancy of their doctrines which provides support for a given argument. I quoted extensively from sources republished in the early sixteenth century, and from the *Opuscula* of Barbieri, printed a few years before the opening of the sixteenth century, dedicated to Sixtus IV, coeval with the first cycle of frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and thus of importance to the interpretation of the ceiling. I quoted passages and reproduced illustrations from the *Opera nuova contemplativa*, a popular devotional work published about 1510 when the work on the ceiling was in full swing. I produced a multitude of sixteenth century texts to illustrate the political program and spiritual aims of Julius II. To Mr. Wind the "oratorical passages" I quote from the proceedings of the Lateran Council "are not . . . theological arguments." Since these phrases were delivered in solemn council and in his very presence, one can only conclude that the Pope was less fastidious than Mr. Wind.

The treasures of Pagnini's *Isagogae* have been defended against the "dross" (WAB, p. 45), the "drab and sterile . . . writing" of Vigerio, "half argument, half incantation" (WAB, p. 43). This substitution of personal taste for scholarly argument<sup>38</sup> is surpassed by the passage in which Mr. Wind contends that Vigerio, born in 1446, was "out-fashioned" in 1508, and that the "*concetto* of the Sistine Ceiling . . . would be . . . inconceivable in the generation to which Vigerio belongs" (WAB, p. 44). One might as easily argue that St. Peter's was a *retardataire* building because Bramante was also born in 1446, or present as a hopeless reactionary Julius II himself—born in 1444!

Whereas Mr. Wind has yet produced no evidence

33. Pagnini might well have rejoiced, for example, at the possession of the indices of Migne. Although these provide more than five thousand columns of closely packed allusions to patristic and scholastic opinion on every conceivable subject, Mr. Wind finds them "not an adequate instrument for working out the typology of the Sistine Ceiling" (WAB, p. 47). My chief reason for stating so emphatically my reliance on Migne's indices was my shock at Mr. Wind's cult of inaccessibility, but it should have been clear from the numerous quotations that the references given by these indices have all been checked and analyzed, and that these are the actual opinions of historic theology. No art historian can find his way around the 242 volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* without the help of the monumental indices, whose study would have provided Mr. Wind with a less capricious substitute for his "game of riddles" based on the Concordance.

34. The heart of the subject apparently exacts no such tiresome labors, for Mr. Wind (WAB, p. 45) devotes a long

paragraph to "Julian theology" without any references whatsoever.

35. *Isagogae*, cij, "Modo autem aedidit Isagogas ad sacras literas, & ad mysticos sacrae scripturae sensus, quas ad tuam dominationem [referring to Cardinal François de Tournon to whom the work was dedicated] idem santes noster brevi misurus est."

36. The linguistic interests of Leo X need scarcely be stressed. It is important in this respect to point out that he fostered the establishment of a Hebrew printing press in Rome, and gave posts to learned Jews at the papal court; cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, VII, pp. 444-445; also p. 252, note \*, for his interest in Pagnini's Bible.

37. cf. WGBA, p. 214, repeated WAB, p. 46.

38. Particularly inconsistent when in unguarded moments Mr. Wind refers to "the more labored pursuits" of Savonarola's pupils, including Pagnini (WGBA, p. 215), and the latter's "rarefied and tortuous intellect" (WGBA, p. 232).



that Julius II ever heard of Pagnini,<sup>39</sup> Vigerio was a contemporary, a fellow-countryman, a fellow-Franciscan, an old family friend and a trusted intimate of the Pope. He was made bishop of Sinigaglia by Sixtus IV. On November 12, 1503, only ten days after his election as Pope and a fortnight before his coronation, at a time when his regime was seriously threatened by Cesare Borgia, Julius II placed the Castel Sant'Angelo, the key to the fortifications of the Vatican, in the hands of Vigerio as *Castellano*. Vigerio's name heads the first comprehensive list of cardinals created (successfully) by the Pope in 1505. In 1511, at the moment when Julius II's authority was in greatest danger, Vigerio was among the twenty loyal cardinals in Rome who signed the Bull proclaiming the convocation of the Lateran Council. When the Council, the crowning achievement of the reign of Julius II, was actually convoked, Vigerio celebrated the High Mass which opened its third session on December 3, 1511.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, even if the *Isagogae* could be shown to have any direct relevancy to the Sistine Ceiling, which it cannot, I should prefer a sumptuous volume printed the year before the ceiling was commenced and officially dedicated to the Pope himself<sup>41</sup> to a treatise published almost a generation later in another country—"rarely quoted and soon forgotten" (WGBA, p. 217).

The religious life consists not solely of theological riddles, but also of conviction, of passionate belief. Yet Mr. Wind finds nothing more than "incantations" in the *Decachordum Christianum*, from whose pages faith radiates. My claims concerning the rising Adam and the naked sons of Noah<sup>42</sup> have been characterized as the only "positive information not found elsewhere." The evidence I have brought forward is too extensive to be thus shrugged aside. What seems significant is that so much of the content of the Sistine Ceiling, explicable separately through widely scattered mediaeval sources, is found all at once in this single High Renaissance work.<sup>43</sup>

39. I do not except the twice repeated fallacy (implied WGBA, pp. 212-215, *et passim*, and stated specifically WAB, p. 46) that because there might have been a "secret correspondence" (for which Mr. Wind produces no evidence) between Julius II when still cardinal, and Girolamo Savonarola in 1494, *ipso facto* the Pope knew Savonarola's successor at San Marco fourteen years later. This is guilt by association.

40. Hefele-Hergenröther, *op.cit.*, VIII, pp. 397, 409, 458, 525; Pastor, *op.cit.*, VI, pp. 221, 427.

41. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Harry B. Gutman, from whose "Medieval Content of Raphael's 'School of Athens,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II, 1941, pp. 420-429, I learned the name of Vigerio and the title of his *Decachordum Christianum*. As far as I know, Mr. Gutman's article is the first attempt to deduce the consequences of Julius' Franciscanism for Renaissance art.

42. Mr. Wind disputes the relevancy of this text which denounces the naked and impenitent thief reviling the naked Christ on the Cross, likening him to Ham deriding the naked Noah, "as on that particular theory only one of the three sons (Ham) should be naked, but in Michelangelo the two others are naked as well." Mr. Wind can scarcely have read the passage I quoted in which Vigerio first compares himself to the penitent thief in these words, "offero me nudum tecum in cruce," and then cries "Assimila me domine Sem et Japhet."

## VI

Mr. Wind erroneously states that "Book II, Chapter IV" of Vigerio "is not quoted by Mr. Hartt, although it is entitled *The Agreement between the Beginnings of the New and Old Testaments*" (WAB, p. 44).<sup>44</sup> But the passage which he declares to "disprove" me "completely" begins thus: "Our most wise mother, the Holy Catholic Church, decided at the beginning to give milk to her children because they could not yet nourish themselves with solid food." Finding that Vigerio here characterizes the opening chapter of Matthew as "milk for babes," Mr. Wind maintains that "had the author wished to write theological polemics against the program of the Sistine Ceiling he could not have chosen a more crucial topic." Are we to believe that a Renaissance ecclesiastic would write of any passage in the Scriptures with the disrespect implied by the modern term "milk for babes," and then dedicate the work to the Pope? Mr. Wind himself, in a lecture on the Sistine Ceiling, pointed out how Cumaea, the sibyl of the Roman mysteries, is represented with immense breasts in reference to the divine milk of Mary-Ecclesia, with which the Child is to be nourished and which will become the Sacred Blood giving life to the faithful.<sup>45</sup>

The metaphor of the Church providing its children with milk is strikingly relevant to a cycle of forty generations, almost every one of which is centered about a small child, and in eighteen of which mothers appear in tender relations with their children. Joram and Ozias, indeed, are both shown as drinking from their mothers' breasts.<sup>46</sup> In calling this passage to my attention Mr. Wind has inadvertently provided an example of an exact illustration by Michelangelo of Vigerio's text: Ozias' mother withholds bread from her child while giving him her breast instead, just as Vigerio has described. I have previously pointed out the instances of Salathiel and of Achim who, if my interpretation is correct, are also stretching out their hands for bread.

Now Vigerio uses for the literal Matthew the same

This seems to take care of the nakedness of both sons.

43. cf. specific relationships drawn between the *Decachordum*, and Julian iconography in general and the Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling in particular, HAB, p. 122 and n. 47, p. 129 and nn. 100 and 101, p. 137 and n. 144, pp. 181-182, 185, and n. 41, pp. 189-191, 196, 199-201. The statement that this information might "be found elsewhere" is perfectly true. In my two articles I have attempted to trace the traditional authorities for my interpretations before "adorning" them (WAB, p. 47) with the appropriate quotations from Vigerio. One might quote from Mr. Wind (WGBA, p. 231): "Now it is highly unlikely that Michelangelo compiled the arguments for his pictures from a multiplicity of different books. . . . The more likely hypothesis is that he availed himself of the advice of an experienced theologian."

44. On p. 196 I quoted the entire passage producing a concordance between the beginnings of the book of Genesis and the Gospel of St. John in the form of a dialogue.

45. I pointed out (HAB, p. 189 and n. 72) that according to one tradition the Cumaeen sibyl was called Amalthea, like the she-goat which suckled Jupiter.

46. I propose to discuss the general topic of milk symbolism at greater length in an article on Michelangelo's Medici Chapel to appear in the *Festschrift für Georg Swarzenski*.



metaphor Hrabanus employed for the literal interpretation in general. "Through these Wisdom feeds her children. To those who are young and beginning to learn she gives the milk of *history*; to those advancing in the faith the bread of *allegory*; those who are truly and constantly doing good so that they abound therein she satisfies with the savory repast of *tropology*, while finally, those who despise earthly things and ardently desire the heavenly, she fills to the full with the wine of *anagogy*."<sup>47</sup> Maternal milk and allegorical bread are represented in the spandrels and lunettes, while the mystic cycle in the center of the ceiling commences with the inebriating wine, with which Noah is "filled to the full."

The placing of the temporal ancestors drawn from Matthew in a position so dim that Tolnay was able to refer to it as the "zone of shadow and death" while the Word and the World in the central scenes begin in the same mighty act of divine will is in complete harmony with Vigerio's opinion of the relative importance of the literal Matthew and the mystical John "on whom the whole structure of our Catholic religion rises" (*Decachordum*, fol. 29r).

## VII

The ancestor figures on either side of the tablet in each lunette are so grouped as to resemble a family including (apparently) both parents and a child or two, as in the spandrels above. Mr. Wind insists (WAB, p. 41) that I have "split some of the families vertically in half, producing two families out of one," since I have assumed that in many instances the generations are shown at widely separated moments in time. Thus an ancestor in one generation may be represented as a child, while his son on the other side of the lunette is shown as a grown man. Mr. Wind's point would be well taken if he could demonstrate that in each lunette without exception there is the same grouping of mother, father, and child or children. However, Abia and his wife have no child, save for that which the young woman bears within her, nor is there a child in either the Aminadab or the Naason lunettes. Both the Joseph-Jacob and Eleazar-Matthan lunettes contain two distinct families, each consisting of father, mother, and at least one child.

Worse yet, the two (destroyed) lunettes above the altar exhibit entirely irregular combinations. The

Phares-Esron-Aram group shows a man, a woman, and a child on one side, a man and a woman on the other. And into the first lunette four generations are crowded, including one old man, one young man, one woman, and two children.

If Mr. Wind's assumption were correct, we ought to find Abraham an old man, Isaac in middle age, Jacob a young man, and Judah a child. All these conditions are satisfied save one: *Isaac is shown as a child*. Thus the situation which excited such amusement in Mr. Wind has indisputably materialized: "the child [Isaac] is father to the man [Jacob]." Mr. Wind can therefore no longer object to the inclusion of different moments in time within the same field, a phenomenon he might have noticed elsewhere in the ceiling.<sup>48</sup>

It is wholly natural that this principle should be followed in all cases where there are children on both sides of the same lunette. In all such instances only one parent has been shown in each generation. This principle is the only way to account for the existence of children on both sides of so many lunettes. We could not otherwise determine on which child the succession falls. Moreover, as the reader may verify by my plan (HAB, p. 202), it is the only way of preserving a consecutive succession of ancestors from Abraham to Christ without skips or reversals, a matter of some relevance in a genealogy.<sup>49</sup>

It is important for the understanding of the iconographical traditions flowing through the Sistine Ceiling that the only monumental pictorial cycle of *all* the ancestors listed in Matthew 1 (as distinguished from Trees of Jesse with varying numbers of ancestors) that I have been able to find in Italy is in the chapel of the Beato Luca Belludi at the Basilica of Sant' Antonio in Padua,<sup>50</sup> a Franciscan foundation, where it is combined with a cycle of Franciscan miracles. This should scarcely be surprising, in view of the emphasis laid by St. Francis on the humanity of Christ.

## VIII

From the vantage point of an interpretation of forty names based on an analysis of only six, Mr. Wind attempts (WAB, p. 41) to demolish the text I have produced for all forty, by attacking two. In the first instance, Esron, I had already pointed out that the meaning of the name had "slight application to the program of the ceiling" (HAB, p. 204). To Mr. Wind

47. cf. below, sec. XI, for the questions raised by Mr. Wind regarding the use of the term "anagogy."

48. As in the *Creation of Sun, Moon, and Plants*, the *Fall of Man*, the *Drunkenness of Noah*, and the *Crucifixion of Haman*; commissioned by a Pope who had himself represented as present at events which occurred many centuries before, and ordered frescoes showing personages who lived as much as a millennium apart, engaged in solemn disputation.

49. In Mr. Wind's article the growth of a cult of the ancestry of Christ is persuasively demonstrated (WGBA, pp. 220ff.), but so gentle is the transition from this discussion to the specific treatment of the ancestors listed in Matthew 1, that the reader is scarcely aware that all the illustrations (figs. 7-10) refer not to the genealogy of Christ through Joseph as in Matthew, but to the *family of Mary*, especially those members

alive at the time of Christ's infancy. At no time is this discrepancy admitted. The confusion is confounded, and crystallized, on p. 232 n. 49: "Goritz's commission, for S. Agostino in Rome, of Raphael's fresco painting of the prophet Isaiah with Sansovino's group of St. Anne placed below . . . repeats a configuration of the Sistine Ceiling by placing the Prophet above the Genealogy." It ought to be made clear which genealogy is being treated. Yet Mr. Wind utilizes this lapse to solemnize a matrimony between the style of Michelangelo's genre-like ancestor frescoes and the Torgauer Altar of Cranach, through the proxy of Goritz, because he was a Luxembourger and thus a presumed intermediary between north and south.

50. cf. Sergio Bettini, *Giusto de' Menabuoi e l'arte del Trecento*, Padua, 1944, pp. 136-138.



1. Raphael, *Disputa*, detail, St. Gregory

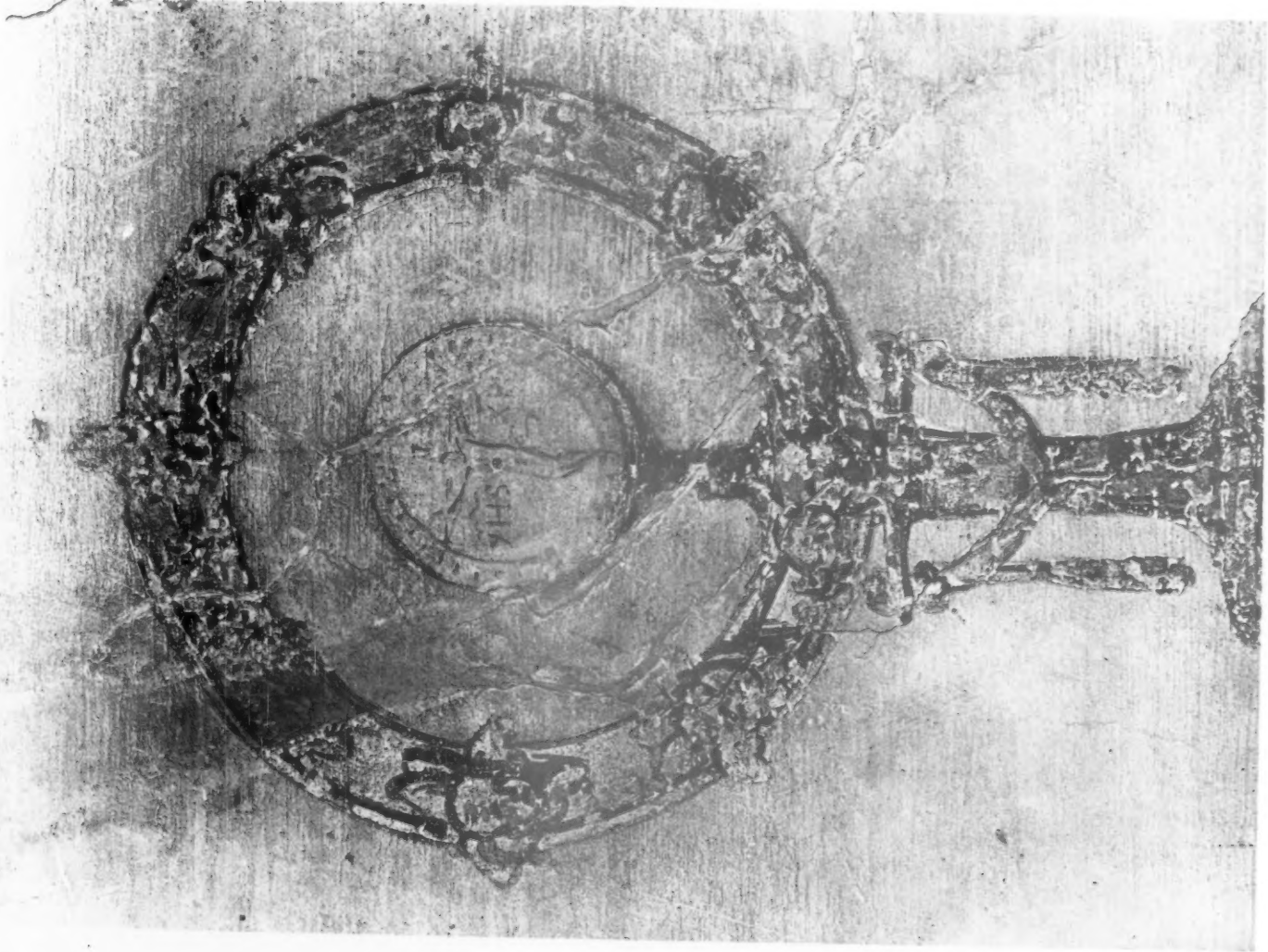


2. Raphael, *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, detail, Julius II



3. Caradosso, Medal of 1506  
obverse, Julius II





4. Raphael, *Disputa*, detail, host in monstrance



5. Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, lunette, Salathiel (photo: Anderson)



this very admission is "a simple example" of "the way in which Mr. Hartt establishes the correlation between picture and text." In the case of Josaphat,<sup>51</sup> Mr. Wind rebukes me for referring to "a passage in Ezekiel (ix, 2) of which not one word is to be found in Hrabanus." Yet the passage is to be found in Hrabanus. I pointed out that Josaphat is in "the first lunette inside the sanctuary, and is placed opposite Ezekiel, who heard the command of the Lord to set the mark *Tau* upon the heads of the faithful, issued to a 'man clothed with linen, who had the writer's inkhorn by his side.'" I presumed the reader would remember my analysis of Ezekiel on page 189, which Mr. Wind seems not to have read. Here I laid some stress on this passage, quoted from Hrabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Migne, CVII, cols. 245 and 253.

My interpretation of the Ceiling without the ancestors was complete before I came upon Hrabanus' text, and I was astonished to find almost all of my interpretations of the scenes corroborated by the meanings given for the ancestors.<sup>52</sup> Mr. Wind contends that Hrabanus is an unlikely source for the Sistine Ceiling, yet sometimes one has to look in unlikely places. He is wrong when he characterizes the *Commentarium in Matthaeum* as "not outstanding either for the singularity or the wealth . . . of its propositions." Among all the commentaries on Matthew listed by the Indices to Migne only six make a systematic attempt at supplying passages from Scripture to amplify the meanings of the ancestral names and among these Hrabanus is one of the fullest and most complex. Four of the six can be ruled out at once, because, in addition to other deviations, they do not illustrate the parallel between Naason, translated as "serpent," and the prophecy of the Brazen Serpent represented directly above him by Michelangelo.<sup>53</sup> Now the only other commentary which gives the meaning *serpens* and the passage from John III, 14, in which Christ compares himself to the serpent lifted up in the wilderness, is a rudimentary work by Christian Druthmar, in which only fifteen of the forty ancestors receive

scriptural passages, and two are not even translated.<sup>54</sup> Hrabanus would seem to be left in possession of the field. The Sistine cycle may have been drawn from a later derivative of Hrabanus' commentary unknown to me, but what cannot be maintained is that Hrabanus' text does not fit the paintings.

## IX

"As for Sixtus himself," we are told (WAB, p. 45), "Mr. Hartt is gravely mistaken when he attributes (p. 210) to the 'beloved uncle, Sixtus IV' a 'special eucharistic devotion' on the grounds that he 'had written a treatise on the blood of Christ' which 'was apparently an outgrowth of the dispute before Pius II.'"<sup>55</sup> In that famous disputation (1462) Francesco della Rovere, later Sixtus IV, maintained the negative and held that the blood of Christ, when separated from the body, was not deserving of veneration." The Commentaries of Pius II,<sup>56</sup> which Mr. Wind mentions without quotations or page references, do not bear him out. "The preachers proposed the conclusion . . . in this manner: the precious blood of Our Lord shed in the Passion, which returned at last to the glorified body was at no time deprived of hypostatic union with the Word. The minorites affirmed that this union ceased during the three days of the Passion." This is a quite different proposal. Sixtus maintains that the *actual blood* shed during the Passion "if it had retained union would by no means have been corrupted, but everywhere . . . would have persisted without corruption and have been deserving of worship in a cult of adoration. However, it is exhibited in the Lateran, in Venice, in Mantua, and in many other places reduced to ashes and corrupt. Therefore it did not retain union."

Mr. Wind claims the debate "concerned the question of worshipping any relics of the Sacred Blood, and more generally the growing fashion of stressing the sanguineous aspects of redemption at the expense of all others. The demonstrable fact that Sixtus IV was

51. cf. above, for the surgery Mr. Wind performs upon this unfortunate ancestor.

52. I have previously stated (HAB, p. 203 n. 162) and reiterate here that "I have omitted those Biblical references in Hrabanus which seem irrelevant to the Sistine," since Hrabanus generally provides three quite different passages for each name. For the correspondences between the meanings given in Hrabanus for the ancestors and those I adduced for the scenes, I refer the reader to my article (HAB, pp. 201-213).

53. In fact all four of this family of commentaries give *augurium* as the sole meaning for Naason's name, and three of the four connect it with Matthew XXV, 31, referring to the Second Coming. St. Aileranus, *Interpretatio mystica progenitorum Christi*, Migne, LXXX, cols. 327-334; Pseudo-Alcuin, *Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum progenitorum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, Migne, C, cols. 726-734; Walahfrid Strabo, *Homilia in initium evangelii Sancti Matthaei*, Migne, CXIV, cols. 849-862; Anselmus Laudunensis, *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, Migne, CLXII, cols. 1227-1249.

54. *Expositio in Matthaeum*, Migne, CVI, cols. 1268-1274. Druthmar makes no mention of Isaac carrying wood, yet Hrabanus describes him (col. 738) exactly as he was shown by Michelangelo, carrying wood, and directly above the altar, "quo mactandus ipse ad aram portaverat ligna, sicut Christus

crucem passionis suae proprio gestavit corpore." Druthmar also makes Amon into "*infidelis*" instead of "*fidelis*," and consistently refers to "Nathan" instead of "Matthan."

55. I based my supposition of a special eucharistic devotion on the part of both Popes not only on the treatise by Sixtus IV, but on: (1) The ardent and universally known devotion of St. Francis to the eucharist, enjoined, one would imagine, on Francesco della Rovere as General of the Franciscan Order and on Giuliano della Rovere as Cardinal Protector. Mr. Wind (WAB, p. 42) finds this logic "rather difficult to follow." (2) The represented presence of Julius II at the miraculous mass of Bolsena, a circumstance scarcely to be deduced from Mr. Wind's arguments. (3) The fact that Sixtus IV granted special indulgence to those who would adore the bloodstained Corporal of Bolsena; cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, VI, p. 596 n. 1, cited HAB, p. 120 n. 33. (4) The fact that one of these Popes caused the other to be represented alongside the greatest of Franciscan theologians, St. Bonaventura, in the *Disputa*, the most complete pictorial exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist.

56. ed. Rome, 1584, pp. 513, 522, 533. I am extremely grateful to Miss Florence Gragg for her kindness in locating and transcribing for me the appropriate passages, and for checking my translations.

opposed to these developments shows how ill-fitting it is . . . to read those sanguineous features to which Sixtus objected into the plan of the Sistine Chapel." So far from being opposed to the veneration of relics of the Sacred Blood, Sixtus is willing that they be venerated like any other relics. "We do not destroy religion when we say that the blood which is shown . . . does not retain union with the Word, a statement proved by this very corruption. For we do not deny that that blood which the people worship was the blood of Christ, but we say either that it appeared miraculously or that it was shed otherwise than in the Passion." The obvious conclusion seems to be that only in the sacrament is entire union with the Word obtained, and possibly for that very reason Sixtus fostered the adoration of the Sacred Corporal of Bolsena.<sup>57</sup>

But the most striking confirmation of the validity of my contention concerning the importance of the "sanguineous features" in the Sistine Ceiling is furnished by the following paragraph on Michelangelo's *Drunkenness of Noah* written by Mr. Wind.<sup>58</sup> "Yet these very utensils . . . are wrought with extravagant overtones as they suggest the implements of a tragic ritual. The wine in the great tub signifies blood, and would have suited the fancy of St. Catherine of Siena who spoke of a *barile di vino* and a *bottega del sangue* to indicate the enormity of Christ's sacrifice. . . ."

### X

Mr. Wind objects to my finding a reference to the Tree of Life in the dedication of the *Decachordum* to Julius II (WAB, p. 45). "The most fruitful forest of doctrine" is a phrase no mediaeval or Renaissance theologian could possibly have used without remembering the Tree of Knowledge which became fruitful again when the apple of the Tree of Life was grafted upon it, and thus gave true doctrine to mankind. That Vigerio should elaborate such an allusion in terms of the planting, the wood and the fruit of trees strikes me as highly significant in a dedication to a Pope whose name means oak tree. But to understand fully the meaning of the phrase, one must return to the iconography of Sixtus IV.

In revisiting the Sistine Chapel this year I was impressed by the applicability of the "forest of doctrine" to the original cycle. For the fictitious damasks which adorn the dado (on which, I regret to say, I had never previously bestowed more than a passing glance) are entirely composed of oak leaves. Moreover, each dam-

ask if complete would have four rows of oak trees with seven trees in each row. Once one becomes aware of them, one has the impression that the lower portions of the room are swathed in a magical oak forest.

I have pointed out the vertical correspondence between the throne of the Rovere popes, the *Burning Bush* of Botticelli, Boaz whose name means "in quo robur," Jeremiah who saw a rod keeping vigil, and the *Creation of Plants*. The further relations between the cycle of Sixtus IV and that of Julius II are complex and must form material for separate study. But I should like to observe that the last scenes in the Life of Christ are made to correspond with the closing days of Moses, in the metaphor of the Tree of Life. For the *Last Supper* is of course the scene in which the fruit of the Tree of Life is offered to posterity, and the Tree itself is shown in the background, in the *Crucifixion*. Opposite this fresco Moses, about to die, bequeathes his rod to Aaron. Aaron's rod and the shoot from Jesse's rod which is Christ are assimilated in the Cross (HAB, p. 131, and nn. 114 and 115), and *virga* (rod) is identified with *virgo* (virgin),<sup>59</sup> so that the dedication of the Chapel to the Assumption of the Virgin acts as a further bond between the two cycles. The Tree of Life seems to have been linked with the *rovere* tree from the very start in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>60</sup>

As for the Morgan Pontifical in which the *rovere* tree is juxtaposed with the cross and the *rovere* garlands intertwined with the sacred vine, Mr. Wind dismisses the connection as "a simple act of supplication; . . . it would follow that a donor could not present a votive offering, or participate in a symbolic act of communion without being identified with the power to which he appeals." But identification with divinity is the object of all "symbolic acts of communion," from the most primitive sacrificial meals propitiating the powers in the slaughtered animal to the host which we consume "that Christ might dwell in us and we in him," to quote the Book of Common Prayer. Surely in a religion which offers the mystical body of Christ as *at once* the eucharistic wafer and the "blessed company of all faithful people" this is the meaning of the word *communion*. Need one recall the countless forms and colors in which the Cross of Christ, to which all appeal as of supernatural power, is also adopted as their heraldic symbol by Christian national, religious, and family groups?

A method which turns virtues into vices should have little difficulty in transforming a eulogy into an invective. But this time Mr. Wind has slipped (WAB, p. 43). I translated Antonio Flaminio's lines thus:

57. While Mr. Wind may be right in saying that "nothing could be further removed from Bembo's *sine labe fides* than the tortuous ecstasies of St. Bonaventura" (WAB, p. 43), he cannot explain away the presence of Sixtus IV next to Bonaventura (whom he canonized) in the *Disputa*.

58. *Measure*, I, 1950, p. 414.

59. The parallel is drawn three times in the sermons of St. Peter Damian, cf. Migne, CXLIV, cols. 721, 760, and esp. 761: "De virga Jesse devenimus ad virgam crucis, et principium redemptionis fine concludimus. Ex illa Jesus Christus virgo virga virgine mirabiliter est generatus; in ista martyr martyrum

caput, et martyrii forma turpiter est appensus." At the risk of being told this instrument is "inadequate," I cannot resist noting that Migne's indices provide ten more examples of this parallel, which also appears in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*; cf. ed. Lutz and Perdrizet, Strassburg, 1909, pls. 15-16.

60. "The simple error in arithmetic that 'seven out of nine scenes in the Sistine Ceiling contain trees in one form or another,'" Mr. Wind assures us, "will not escape the observant reader" (WAB, p. 43). A more observant reader than Mr. Wind would have noticed that I called attention to the presence of trees in one form or another in seven specific scenes.



"There shall at last be no one whom the chains of sin bind;

The Julian oak shall nourish the celestial sheep."<sup>61</sup>

To Mr. Wind these words constitute an attack. I notice that my opinion is shared by Vattasso who, although Mr. Wind does not quote him as saying so, lists on page 19 this distich among the five eulogies in the Vatican manuscript in which Flaminio "esaltò il nome . . . di Giulio II." This list includes no. xxxiv, a "doubtful compliment" according to Mr. Wind, who has overlooked the neighboring nos. xxxi, xxxv, and xxxvi, all eulogies. I am aware that nos. liv, lvi, and xvii are invectives, but if Mr. Wind had read Vattasso's introduction he would not have ascribed their bitterness to the notion that Flaminio was "a former ally of Cesare Borgia, Julius II's determined enemy." He would have noticed on page 16 Vattasso's theory that these attacks on the Pope's supposed vices are to be attributed to Flaminio's sympathy with Venice at a later historical stage. In fact, this humanist was so little troubled by any enmity toward, or from, Julius II that he retained his professorship at the University of Rome until his death in 1513. Flaminio's real interests in both Cesare Borgia and Julius II were, as Vattasso pointed out, identical: he welcomed them as unifiers of Italy against the foreigner, and seems to have been the first to raise the cry of "fuori i barbari." Mr. Wind has not observed that I printed the last eight lines of Vattasso no. xxxi, in which Flaminio found Julius "more glorious than Caesar, his fires brighter than those of Apollo; he is the Thunderer, he holds the gate to heaven; Tartarus, the earth and the stars are in his grip" (HAB, p. 216 and n. 209). If Mr. Wind were really aware of the "political history of this particular writer," he might have read Flaminio's five page iambic exhortation to Julius to drive the barbarians from Italy, comparing him to Brutus, Horatius Cocles, Camillus, Manilius, and containing the lines with which I concluded my articles: "Ingentes anima ingentia facta sequuntur" (HAB, p. 218).

In spite of Mr. Wind's efforts to demonstrate that each piece of evidence identifying the *rovere* tree with the Tree of Life is to be explained in another and always different way, I am persuaded that when the same phenomena perpetually recur in a series of similar instances, the same explanation ought to account for them all. Mr. Wind has left untouched the bulk of my evidence which I can scarcely repeat here.

I shall continue to accept Steinmann's identification of the medallions until a better one has been offered.<sup>62</sup> But even if Mr. Wind's as yet unannounced identification<sup>63</sup> of the medallions at issue should prove correct,

the typological evidence for the remainder can scarcely be disproved by declaring that it "need perhaps not be discussed" (WAB, p. 42). For example, I showed that the killing of Abner by Joab was a prefiguration of the betrayal of Christ by Judas. I might add that Michelangelo's medallion is directly above Rosselli's *Betrayal*, in the background of the *Last Supper*. The medallion depicting the killing of Joram, whose body was flung into Naboth's vineyard, flanks very appropriately the planting of the vine by Noah, and is directly over the scene in which Moses passes on his rod to Aaron. I shall not repeat here the evidence already given (HAB, pp. 199-201), for such universally known parallels as that between the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Passion of Christ, the death of Absalom and the Crucifixion, the Ascension of Elijah and that of Christ.

That "the extremely sketchy appearance of the last medallions is not due to haste but to decay" is unacceptable. The most cursory examination of the medallions ought to have convinced Mr. Wind of the truth accepted by other scholars—that the last three medallions were executed very hastily indeed (according to Tolnay, by pupils).<sup>64</sup> Julius II's exhortations for greater speed in the execution of the ceiling are common knowledge. As for the final medallion, I eagerly await the publication of the "engravings" in which the missing scene is "reproduced."

The poetic identification of the medallions with the eucharist, and with the Passion whose events are prefigured in the medallions and perpetuated in the eucharist, rests chiefly on the known especial devotion of Julius II to the eucharist. In view of my hypothesis that the form of the medallions reflects the relief-like character of the wafer bearing an imprint of the Crucifixion on one side, it is noteworthy that the Host displayed in a monstrance in Raphael's *Disputa* is a splendid wafer of monumental size and sculptural character, bearing on its visible side a relief of the Crucifixion (Fig. 4). St. Gregory (Fig. 1) is the only one of the four Church Fathers who gazes at the Host directly. He bears a strong resemblance to the face of Julius II without the beard, as he appears in the Caradosso medal (Fig. 3), in the Raphael school drawings for the *Vision of the Apocalypse* which was to have been painted in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, and in those features, not masked by the beard, of the profile of Julius II in the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* (Fig. 2). If this majestic face, so passionately adoring the sacrament, is really that of Julius II, then, as Professor von Simson has pointed out to me, it is of great significance that in the iconography of the Mass of St. Gregory we have the nucleus of the Mass at Bolsena as represented for

61. Marco Vattasso, *Antonio Flaminio e le principali poesie dell'autografo vaticano* 2870, Rome, 1900, p. 51.

62. Mr. Wind for example disputes the identification of the medallion above Cumaea as "David before Nathan . . . as if David came to Nathan with a horse and attendants; actually Nathan went to David and spoke to him alone." Now there is nothing in this title to gainsay that Nathan came to David, and nothing in the Biblical account to refuse Nathan a horse to ride upon and attendants befitting his rank. As for Nathan

speaking to David alone, Mr. Wind's Bible must be different from mine if it contains a single word to that effect (II Samuel xii).

63. Tolnay, (*op.cit.*, II, 2nd printing, p. 254) has shown the impossibility of the identification of the Death of Uriah as the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*.

64. cf. Tolnay's chronology, which exactly relates the visible facts of the painted surface to the documentary material; *op.cit.*, pp. 105-117.



Julius II. That on the adjoining wall he had himself painted as another Pope Gregory after growing the beard may be a confirming bit of evidence.

## XI

Mr. Wind has indicated two mistranslations from Vigerio (WAB, p. 45) in my first article. He is right and I am wrong. I quoted each passage in the original language in addition to my translation, so that the reader would never have to look beyond my pages for my evidence, nor be left in any doubt as to how I understood it. Although Mr. Wind claims this evidence is "marred by textual errors" (WAB, p. 43), he has been able to unearth just one, and that an omitted period. Nonetheless an omitted period can be serious. In this case its discovery destroys my contention that Vigerio speaks of the first Adam as rising.

Mr. Wind is justified in maintaining that in the fourfold system of Biblical interpretation as expounded by Hrabanus Maurus and others what has come to be known as typology belongs more properly to the second mode, allegory, than to the fourth (WAB, p. 46). But my "misuse of the word 'anagogical'" is shared, I find, by the *Catholic Dictionary* and by the *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*. In the former "*Anagogical*—(literally 'leading up') is defined as "a name given to things typical of Christ in the Old or to the actions of Christ in the New Testament, so far as they signify the eternal glory which awaits the elect. The anagogical is a subdivision of the spiritual or mystical senses." In the latter we read that *Anagoge* means "1. spiritual elevation or enlightenment, esp. to understand mysteries, *obs.* 2. Mystical or spiritual interpretation; an Old Testament typification of something in the New." The modern meaning of the word should not be applied as in my articles to the fourfold interpretation; it is perfectly appropriate to typology.

I must do penance for one unsupported guess. With no textual authority I assumed that Jonah's gourd vine typified the Cross. While rightly castigating me for this, Mr. Wind no more noticed than had I that in the Vulgate Jonah has no gourd vine. His plant is an ivy. This classical material for the triumphal crown of victors<sup>65</sup> is well placed at the head of the Sistine Chapel, the culmination of the entire program. The ancient use of the plant was well known in the Middle Ages,<sup>66</sup> but perhaps the most appropriate meaning for the Sistine Chapel is that given by Hrabanus for the ivy of Jonah: "the Hebrew people which declined through infidelity, which once flourished in the patriarchs and the prophets."<sup>67</sup> We see the ivy (likened to the *rovere* tree and supplied with acorns) flourishing in the last of the prophets of the program, he who typifies the Resurrec-

tion of Christ, he who catches fish miraculously as an earlier Peter, he who alone speaks directly to God.

## XII

The metaphor chosen by Mr. Wind to express his dissatisfaction with my acknowledgments toward him is regrettable. I took some pains in this regard, on p. 116, notes 1 and 4; p. 135, note 135; p. 182, note 12; page 188, note 58; p. 203. The following remarks caused strong comment: "No scholar can treat the iconography of the Sistine Ceiling without great indebtedness to the lectures of Professor Edgar Wind, which have called attention to problems hitherto largely unsuspected, even when as in the present instance the suggested solutions of those problems differ radically from those proposed by Dr. Wind." It is now stated that I "have refrained from specifying what these hitherto unsuspected problems were," and that Mr. Wind's "aim in these lectures was to prove that the many deviations from the literal text of the Bible, which have been so often observed in the Sistine Ceiling, are due to the prophetic nature of the program, in which all the scenes from the Old Testament have been designed as adumbrations or 'types' of the New. This principle," Mr. Wind declares (WAB, p. 42), I have "adopted," while "omitting the whole problem from the general footnote and listing instances in two widely separated notes."

I shall be glad to state that Mr. Wind suggested in his lectures a far-reaching typological program for the Sistine Ceiling, purporting to explain some aspects of the order on prophetic grounds. It is perhaps inevitable that, when a scholar lectures for many years on a subject he does not publish, others who must from time to time refer to his contributions lay themselves open to charges of anticipating his publications if they summarize his theories, or of unauthorized borrowing if they do not. I am obliged also to state that Mr. Wind's conception of the reverse order in which the scenes must be read to bring out their hidden meaning, as well as the notion of a prophetic connection between the prophets and the scenes, had already been discovered by Tolnay.<sup>68</sup> The typological significance of Noah in the Sistine was pointed out by Klaczko in 1902, citing both the *Speculum* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. This was the first insight into the (forgive me) anagogical content of the Sistine Ceiling. On it depended the analysis of the first three scenes, and consequently of the entire program.

I cannot therefore recognize the application of typology to the Sistine Ceiling as an independent contribution by Mr. Wind, and in fact I am not even aware of his thesis in regard to the first three scenes of Creation. I chose to acknowledge, rather, my indebtedness to the

65. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 37, to quote one among the innumerable examples.

66. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, Migne, CXI, col. 528, and St. Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, Migne, LXXXII, col. 626, both quote the lines from Virgil: "Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros."

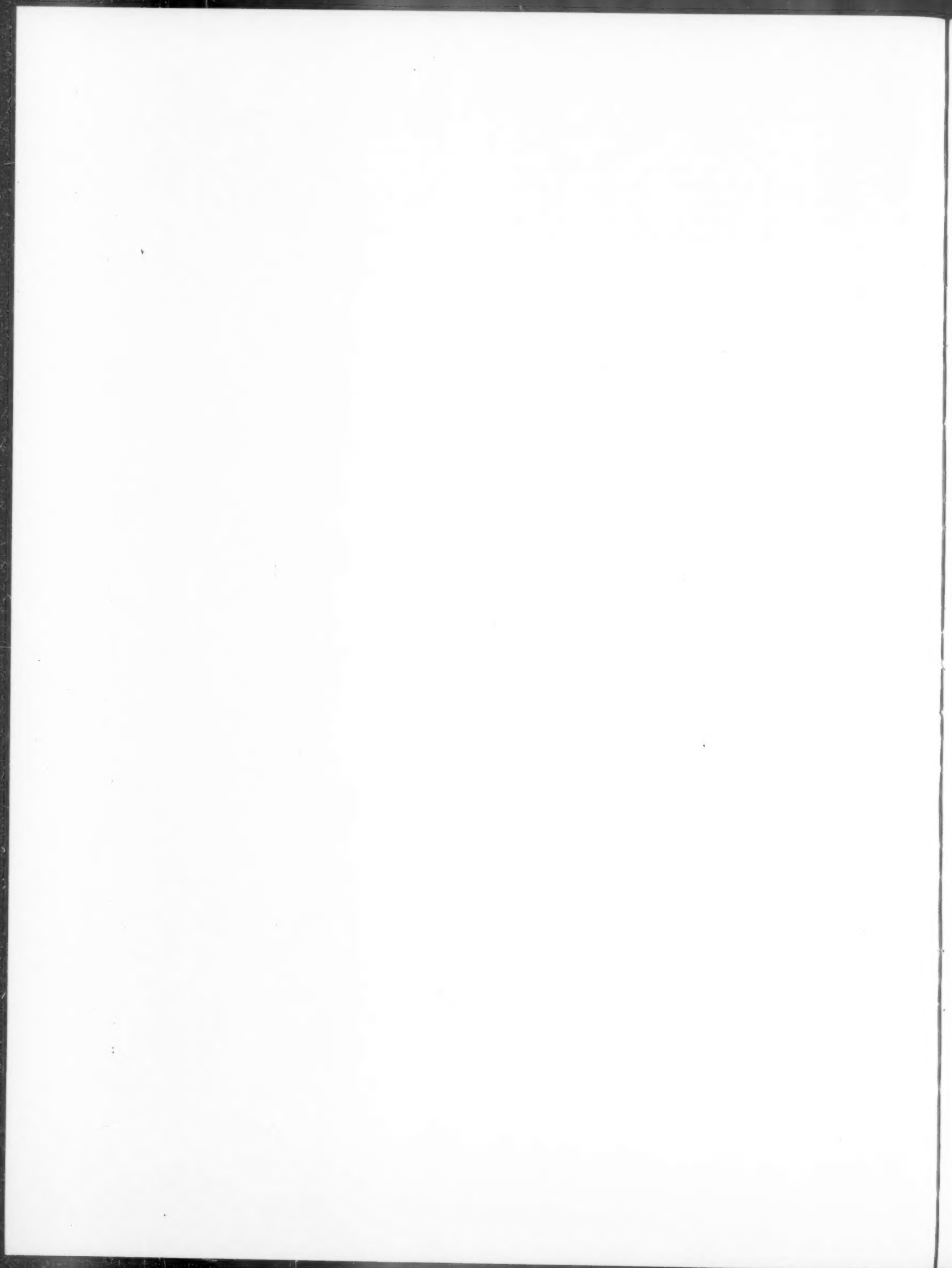
67. Hrabanus, *loc.cit.*, "Unde in libro Jonae Prophetæ hederæ sub cuius umbraculo Jonas sedeat. . . . Judaica plebs per infidelitatem exaruit, quæ quondam florebat in patriarchis et prophetis."

68. Mr. Wind offers three Biblical quotations as "the only points on which Tolnay agrees with" his interpretation.

scholar to whom the credit rightly belongs. Nonetheless, I went to some pains to obtain the notes of others on Mr. Wind's lectures, in order to compare them with my own and avoid any inadvertent use of his conclusions. I found that the sole original contribution of Mr. Wind which I could not avoid utilizing and still develop my own ideas on the Sistine was his interpretation of the *Creation of Eve*. I gave him credit thus: "Wind was

the first scholar to interpret the *Creation of Eve* on the Sistine Ceiling in the light of the above tradition. I am indebted to his public lectures for this crucial point." In other cases I found it possible to state my own conclusions in such a way as not to anticipate Mr. Wind's theories whether I agreed or disagreed with them.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

RANUCCIO BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità dell'arte classica*, Electa Editrice, Florence, 1950. Vol. I, text, 321 pages; vol. II, 246 figures on 137 plates.

Like any volume of collected essays, this is a miscellany of externally unrelated topics. Preponderantly they are reprinted contributions from *La critica d'arte* between 1937 and 1942. Re-editing, some slight expansion of text and footnotes, and a new introductory essay in discussion of the title-theme, distinguish this second edition of 1950 from the original of 1943. The scope of the volume is sufficiently apparent from its sub-titles, which range from the Ostia herm of Themistokles, the shift from archaic to classic in Greek sculpture, and problems of line, space, and volume in Greek painting, to illusionism in Italic relief, the master of the reliefs on the Column of Trajan, an Augustan (and startlingly nineteenth century) terracotta portrait head of a young girl in Berlin, and various phases of Pompeian wall-painting—in short, rather familiar aspects of Greco-Roman criticism, but discussed with vigor and freshness, and rather extensively cast in that rhetorical dialect to which the lovely language of Italy seems to be an insidious inducement.

Unrelated as these various themes cannot help but be, the all-embracing title, drawn from the leading article, expresses an attitude discernible throughout the volume and helping to give it logical unity. Perhaps the word *storicità* in this connection explains itself to an Italian ear; but the outsider will need a little enlightenment. It is Bianchi Bandinelli's contention that art can be properly understood, and hence written about, only in terms of the culture which produced it. It is this quality of belonging to its own day and age, spiritually as well as materially, that is meant by its *storicità*. In illustration, having indicated how ancient sculpture appeared to the Italian Renaissance as an expression of explosive energy concentrated within an encompassing restraining form, but to the eighteenth century as a serene medium of almost devitalized repose, the author insists that it is the art historian's task to discover and reformulate what this classic art was, in and for itself, in its own time of creation. It is this spiritual intent in terms of the original cultural environment which constitutes *storicità*.

An aesthete might quibble that, if we are to believe in any sort of universal human values, a great work of art will transcend the environment in which it was produced and the individual creator by whom it was fashioned. Or he might object that Bandinelli deprives successive generations of their privilege of understanding the past in terms of their own present. Indeed, one may suspect that this very insistence on *storicità* is itself such a twentieth century deflection, as typical of its period as were those previous misapprehensions, the Renaissance *terribilità* and the Neoclassic ideal calm. And there is, no doubt, another temporally conditioned prejudice in the persistent suggestion that

art is only unimportant craftsmanship whenever it ceases to be the self-assertive expression of some unique human personality.

This emphasis on the cultural and individual context of every work of art (which I take to be the real significance of *storicità*) has some interesting implications. Heightened by that instinctive comprehension of art, that sensitiveness and sympathy for it, which are every cultured Italian's natural heritage, it manifests itself in the present series of essays in various reactions and resentments against the inartistic approach to art which has only too often characterized scholars of other nationality. It resents in German scholarship that instinct for classifying and categorizing which robs the individual work of its creative personality; and it even more strongly resents the recourse to vague quasi-metaphysical catchwords—the "law of the thirty-year generation," "polarity," "centrifugal spatial sense" (their name, alas, is legion)—whereof the appeal is precisely that one does not quite understand what they are or how they are supposed to work. In Anglo-Saxon scholarship it resents the blunt materialism, the application of Darwinian determinism to artistic phenomena, the concept that the mimetic arts undergo a technical evolution which enforces their stylistic phases and conditions the artists' resources of expression. With these resentments at heart, Bianchi Bandinelli would seem to disclaim being such a dull and pedesque creature as an archaeologist—"I could go on," he exclaims at one point, "but we are not collecting postage-stamps!"—so that I cannot help considering it significant that in spite of his Crocean philosophy he really is a very good archaeologist, and that the outstanding merit of his book is quite specifically archaeological rather than critical or philosophical.

Thus, he writes sensitively and intriguingly on Pompeian wall-paintings; and if, true to his precept, he maintains that the only important problem about them is to discover what sort of art they are in their own right as examples of interior decorating in Roman Campania around two thousand years ago, he is entirely aware that in order to do so, we must first determine how much of their iconographic content and technical style is inherited Hellenistic or revived classical Greek. Again, his excellent sculptural analysis of the development of the fifth century Greek "classic" rhythm out of the rigid archaic stance has nothing whatever to say about contemporary social or political changes; and though he insists on the personal genius of Polykleitos and implies that without his intervention the new rhythm would not have come into existence, his careful documentation permits one to suspect that something else just as "classical" would have arisen if Polykleitos had never lived. Particularly well explained, and photographically magnificently illustrated from the Column of Trajan, is the pictorial trend in second century imperial Roman relief which (like the Italian Renaissance) conceived carved pictures in painters' terms;

but again the disinclination to allow any explanation from a technical or conceptual evolution makes him search for some single great artist on whose *Kunstwollen* he can pin the new manner. Similarly in several other connections he exclaims: "This could not have happened unless some great artist was responsible for it"; and he considers it the art-historian's function to discover that artist.

Bianchi Bandinelli was among the first Italian scholars to urge against Mrs. Strong and native enthusiasts that Roman art should be envisaged as a continuous historical process evolving out of Etruscan parochialism in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., through peripheral Hellenistic provincialism—lasting from the mid-third century B.C. when Etruria and Latium and Oscan Campania came into intimate contact with South Italian Greek civilization, until the turn of the late second century B.C., when Roman conquest penetrated to the very core of Greece and brought countless Greek masterpieces home as booty—to the final phase of completely self-conscious metropolitanism under Augustus, when Rome became the artistic center of the Mediterranean and it was Greece's turn to lapse into provincialism. So comprehensive and so unpartisan a viewpoint has proved vastly more repaying than that which treated Greek and Roman as irreconcilably antithetic cultural ingredients (and usually exhibited more patriotism than penetration). If a setting historically so accurate for the great panorama of Italic and Roman art is what is meant by *storicità*, Bianchi Bandinelli did well to insist on it. But this was in 1932. And—perhaps because such a sweeping generalization partook too much of the supra-individual and the unlocalized—in 1942 there came the *Palinodia* to restore Etruscan art to the Etruscans and Roman art to the Romans with excellent arguments and striking illustrations.

It is not meant unkindly to conclude by praising as one of the most notable features of this work the 246 photographic illustrations which make up the separately bound volume of plates in fine halftone on calendered paper. They are admirably selected and include much that is seldom reproduced, particularly in sculpture from Etruria, from the reliefs of Trajan's Column, and from provincial Gallo-Roman monuments. They afford a welcome indication that, by a shrewd choice of detail and a wealth of pictorial exemplification, the art-historian may create a sort of visual dialectic, a non-literary medium of persuasion quite as convincing as words and wholly in harmony with that silent world of appearances to which artist and critic both belong.

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J. J. MARQUET DE VASSELLOT, *Les crosses limousines du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Firmin-Didot et Cie., Paris, 1941. VIII, 396 pages, 36 plates. Frs. 180.

This is a book the importance of which far exceeds the increase of our accumulated stock of knowledge. It

was, of course, meritorious in itself that Marquet de Vasselot undertook to classify the more than two hundred crosier heads of the thirteenth century of Limoges workmanship that he had come to know. He divided them simply but logically into two groups. Great stylized flowers grow from the ends of the curvature in the first group. They are replaced, in the second, much larger group by representations of human figures or animals. In both groups, the crook might be interpreted, if not actually treated, as the body of a reptile-like monster. Marquet de Vasselot believed that examples of the first group (chap. I) began to be made slightly earlier than those of the second (chap. II), although he reduced the difference to a virtual minimum (p. 100). It is at this point that one of the main difficulties he had to cope with becomes especially apparent. We may assume that most of the genuine crosiers have been found in graves. However, no inscription, no historical record connects the commissioning of any of these crosiers with a given prelate. A very few come from graves of identified prelates. But even in these cases we are not informed during which year of their tenure of office the crosier was made nor—a point which is even more important and repeatedly stressed by Marquet de Vasselot—whether it was made at all for terrestrial use. Some older crosier, the loss of which seemed slight (p. 15), may have been put in the grave. However, a *terminus ante quem*, at least, is ascertained, if the identity of the sepulcher is established with certainty. Marquet de Vasselot's investigation resulted in the acceptance of hardly a dozen crosiers as, within wider or narrower limits, precisely dated. Any attempt to exactly date the others must start with these dated examples.

Only in exceptional cases did Marquet de Vasselot find stylistic considerations helpful in the exact dating of individual pieces. The chief result of his earlier investigations of the general development of the art of the Limoges enamellers during the thirteenth century remains valid. Whereas their standard production from the second half of the twelfth century until around 1230 applied enameled figures to a non-enameled, usually engraved background, a new technique came into favor around 1220-1230. The principle was reversed, non-enameled figures being applied to an enameled background. There was, of course, a period during which some workshops continued to work in the old established manner while others were more progressive. There may also have been workshops in which both kinds of enamels were produced simultaneously, according to the predilections of individual craftsmen or customers. Marquet de Vasselot dates the crosiers with the great stylized flowers, which he judges to be the earliest ones, in this transitional period, extending from 1200 (p. 32) to 1225 (*loc.cit.* and p. 112) or about 1233 (pp. 32, 113). But he warns that in individual cases such dates may be right only *en principe* (p. 110) because one of them (Sens Cathedral, no. 20 of his catalogue) was found in the grave of a bishop who reigned from 1267 to 1274. However, one may assume that the type had become unfashionable by about 1250 (p. 25). The earliest ascertained dates are connected



with the crosiers of the cathedral in Orléans (No. 36), 1237-1258, and of the museum in Angers (No. 52), 1240-1261. On both of them, Christ and the Virgin with the Child are represented, figures in relief applied to the two sides of a plaque. One must resign oneself to dating individual pieces within the limits of several decades. The making of such crosiers had probably been discontinued before 1325 together with the entire production of *champlevé* enamels (p. 175).

Finding it both impossible to bring the crosiers into a convincing and close chronological order and to attribute any considerable number of them to individual workshops (p. 171), Marquet de Vasselot had to group them according to their iconography, if he wanted to group them at all. I have mentioned that the absence or presence of figural representations characterizes the two main groups. The second of these groups is subdivided according to subject matter into crosiers with representations of Christ, of the Virgin, of Saints, of Adam and Eve, of animals. An introduction precedes the two chapters dealing with the various groups. Besides discussing the original ownership of the crosiers, it examines essential questions of technique, preservation, restoration, and the interpretation of their symbolism. The most difficult iconographic question is raised by those crosiers having a crook showing St. Michael killing the serpent. How could Aaron's staff or Moses' iron serpent, symbolizing Christ on the prototypes of the crosiers, have become converted into symbols of the demon? Marquet de Vasselot, answering the question indirectly, formulates the underlying problem (p. 27). He asks whether it was always necessary to follow to the letter the rules of Christian symbolism and whether modern scholars misunderstand these rules? Personally, I believe these crosiers to embody another proof that modern scholars are mistaken if they believe mediaeval art to have been subjected to strictly binding rules for symbolism. Its freedom was much greater than is yet readily acknowledged. Such rules, in the sense of binding and enforced laws, did not exist; conventions did exist which, for artistic reasons, might be ignored.

In the third chapter (pp. 106ff.), Marquet de Vasselot considers the crosiers in relationship to other kinds of contemporaneous Limoges enamels. As few crosiers are precisely dated, they fail to contribute anything important toward the chronological order of the entire production. Inversely, conclusions drawn from the general stylistic development may be applied to that of the crosiers. By combining the testimony of historical evidence and the results of stylistic analysis, Marquet de Vasselot arrived at his dating of the crosiers. They were fashionable only during the century of the greatest popularity of the Limoges enamels. It is characteristic of them that the works of individual shops cannot be distinguished from each other. In spite of its vastness, the production appears—at least to us at so remote a date—as standardized and uniform to such a degree that one begins to wonder whether this was not the result of some organizational peculiarity of the craft (p. 171 note). To discuss all the details common to the crosiers and other enamels would have required a

bigger book (p. 115). The author had to restrict himself to the discussion of what he thought the most important of these details, and of their contribution to our knowledge of the Limoges production in general. The first of these details are the cufic pseudo-inscriptions which appear on six of the crosiers of the first group and on other contemporaneous Limoges enamels of which he lists twenty-five. He stresses two points especially: the first is that nobody cared whether such inscriptions conveyed to the initiated a religious meaning contrary to Christianity (p. 117—once again the problem of artistic freedom!); the second is that the mediaeval craftsman did not always use actual Islamic writing for models, but sometimes copied meaningless Islamic pseudo-inscriptions of mere ornamental value. Pseudo-inscriptions were used as decorations in non-Islamic works as early as the eleventh century (p. 126). They are not special characteristics of Limoges enamels. However, the application of separately cast relief heads to flat bodies, and circular medallions showing more or less fantastic animals, with or without human figures, within an enameled frame do constitute special characteristics. The present investigation, though fragmentary owing to the war, results in the demonstration that one can distinguish between the earlier and later heads, and that identical heads as well as medallions occurred on different pieces. Limoges knew in a certain measure what we would call standardized mass production. I do not believe that we have, on this account, to impute an exceptionally developed commercialism to the Limoges craftsmen. In my opinion it is sheer romanticism, of course not shared by Marquet de Vasselot and unsupported by historical evidence, to suppose that the mediaeval craftsman and artist was in any way more reluctant to use mechanical labor-saving devices than is his modern counterpart. The explanation of such practices lies in the great demand for Limoges enamel during a certain period. These works offered a splendid though much cheaper substitute for works in precious materials (p. 15).

After having expounded (pp. 144ff.) the similarities between representations on the crosiers and other Limoges enamels, Marquet de Vasselot proceeds to answer the question whether one may ascribe any number of related crosiers to individual, even if anonymous, workshops and distinguish between others so convincingly as to recognize the hand of different masters (pp. 148ff.). The answer is an almost unqualified No. One may be able to arrange the works in certain groups but no delineation of the *oeuvres* of recognizable workshops emerges. The workshop in which the altar of Grandmont Abbey originated is no exception. Marquet de Vasselot recognized a plaque in the Bargello with the image of St. Martialis, the first bishop of Limoges, as belonging to the set of apostles traditionally connected with the Grandmont altar, making it very probable that it really comes from there. But he repudiates those who have seen in it the work of a monastic workshop and he polemizes energetically against Otto von Falke's high-handed extension of its *oeuvre*. Again and again he emphasizes the stylistic homogeneity of the early Li-



moges production which left no room for the development of individually determined styles. We can distinguish between better and poorer and stylistically earlier and later works, but on the whole it remains an amorphous mass which still withstands any division into individual, more or less exactly datable, workshops. Marquet de Vasselot saw no reason to despair that it would always be so. He expected that such attempts would succeed after further detailed studies of Limoges enamels and of the contemporaneous production of champlevé enamels elsewhere (p. 174).

Pages 179 to 335, and an addition on p. 338, contain the listing of over two hundred crosiers. It forms the backbone of the investigation and is a model of a scientific catalogue. No one could be more disappointed with the lack of spectacular results than the author himself. He could not but compare his disappointment with that experienced by Raymond Koechlin after he had to convince himself that, but for rare exceptions, he could not split up the mass of French ivory carvings of the fourteenth century into productions of definitely characterized workshops. Marquet de Vasselot shared with him a deep respect before any artistic monument of the past, modest as it may be, and a conviction that nothing is gained by facile hypotheses and rash generalizations. Throughout his whole professional life, he did not tire of wrestling with problems connected with Limoges enamels. Deeply imbued with artistic feeling and a scholarly spirit, he did not expect easy results and was not discouraged when he discovered that only a great concerted effort might succeed, that he could do no more than take steps in the right direction and pass on the torch held in scrupulously clean hands. That he used the leisure of his retirement (1933) for detailed investigations such as this book and another he was working on at the time of his death in 1946, in itself conveys a message. It is the admonition that the first task of the history of art is to make the monuments ever more intimately known and their intrinsic language progressively better understood. This book was finished and published during the uncertainties and ravages of the war. Somehow Archimedes comes to mind. It is comforting to be reminded of the fact that the roots of the humanities reach strata of European culture deep enough to guarantee their survival in spite of the overemphasized material necessities of the day.

General remarks such as can only flow from rich experience abound in this volume. If I had to train art historians, I would declare it required reading.

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RICHARD OFFNER, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section III, Volume v: The Fourteenth Century*, Published under the Auspices of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1947.

Scholars will welcome with particular satisfaction the resumption, after the interruption of the Second World War, of this *Corpus* which is a decidedly useful enterprise for the deepening of our knowledge even in a field as much studied as Florentine painting. On the basis of certain general principles regarding the unity of expression of any artist, that is, on the basis of a group of single, specific characteristics which allow a given number of works of art to be grouped around an individual personality, Offner explains that this volume deals with three different personalities from the circle of Bernardo Daddi. Starting out in the orbit of this master, these artists worked during the Trecento; later, at least two of them were subjected to the influence of Orcagna and his fellow-workers, an influence which, as is well known, extended beyond the end of the century. These three personalities represent a persistent miniaturist tendency and thus contrast with the monumentality of Giotto and Maso which was to re-emerge only in the Quattrocento, that is, at the beginning of the Renaissance.

The first and also the eldest of these painters is called the Master of San Martino alla Palma from the *pala* in the church of this name near Florence which is considered to be his *magnum opus* and was at one time attributed to Daddi, although as early as 1914 this reviewer had doubts regarding that attribution. The stylistic unity of the works attributed by Offner to this anonymous artist is borne out by a chronological development based on minute observation of the ornaments of nimbi. Thus an artist somewhat younger than Daddi is reconstructed who worked in the second quarter of the Trecento, if not also for some years after 1350. As presented by Offner, this unknown Florentine was driven by a rather remarkable temperament, possibly impelled by the Master of Saint Cecilia into the Sienese current. Originally inclined to linear cadences and miniaturist modes which link him to the Master of the Biadaiolo, it was only in his late phase that he developed the more substantial volumes visible in the *pala* from which he is provisionally named, parallel to Daddi's panel in Orsanmichele (1346-47), and of a somewhat later date than this painting. But to me his masterpiece remains the diptych in the Museum of the New York Historical Society, with its rhythmic and human group of the Madonna and Child, its noble angels with full yet delicate faces and, above all, its solemn Last Judgment. The latter is iconographically related to paintings of the Romagna, a relationship which Offner explains by assuming a common source of Roman influence behind both the Romagna painters and the miniaturist trend to which our master belongs.

But certain formal devices, too, connect him with the painting of the Romagna, a complicated matter that I intend to take up on another occasion in connection with a proposed attribution of the four panels of the Life of Christ in the University Museum in Göttingen which seemed to me, in 1935, to have been painted by a Tuscan artist who had gone to the Romagna.

Aside from the *pala* and among other convincing attributions, two little-known paintings are worthy of

note: the *Madonna del Parto* (unfortunately somewhat damaged) with a very lively Franciscan monk in Santa Maria in Campo in Florence, a rare iconographic type which recurs, as Offner correctly observes, in an almost contemporary miniature in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (cod. II, I, 212, c. 10v.), and the archaic *Saint Louis of Toulouse between Two Angels* in the collection of Walter Burns in Hatfield, Hertfordshire. The Master of San Martino alla Palma remains fundamentally Daddesque, even in his lyrical mood, though a personality different from the more sublime Daddi is revealed in his work.

Offner groups sixteen works around a second painter whom he calls an Assistant of Daddi and attributes another four paintings to his workshop. This artist is recognizable, on the one hand, by a persistent archaism in posture and gestures in his Madonnas and by the type used in such a panel as the painted cross in the Accademia in Florence with the Life of Christ in the terminals, a Romanesque type deriving from Lucca; on the other hand, he adheres to the Daddesque modes, for example, in accentuating the decorative values in the patterns of drapery, patterns which the author has studied with particular care.

Deviating from a previous tentative reconstruction of the oeuvre of this master by Suida, Offner places the activity of the Assistant of Daddi between about 1338 and 1348 in the very workshop of the master, where he assisted him during the decline of his last years. After the death of Bernardo in 1338, he was engaged in the completion of some of his works and one may assume that he continued activity even beyond the middle of the century.

In regard to the collaboration of this master with Daddi, I should retain as essentially designed by him the *Saint Thomas Aquinas Fleeing Temptation*. This painting probably belonged to the predella of the lost triptych of 1338 representing this Saint and Saint Peter Martyr with Saint Dominic formerly in Santa Maria Novella. There are four other panels of the predella from the hand of Daddi himself in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, in the Jarves Collection of Yale University, and in the Museum of Posen.

Apart from Offner's other attributions to our master, such as the archaic *Baptist* of San Martino in Gangalandi (near Lastra a Signa), there are two safe cases among the major works: the polyptych with a *Madonna and Saints* of 1344 in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli and the *Coronation* formerly on the main altar of Santa Maria Novella, now in the Accademia at Florence. They reveal the peculiarities of his style, as Offner says, in their lyrical and archaizing tendencies and, also, in a certain angularity of drawing in conjunction with a soft and delicate manner of modeling and coloring by means of minute brushstrokes, of rather low relief for a Florentine. This artist thus exhibits a manner closely related to miniaturist modes and it would not be surprising if future research would reveal his activity in the field of miniature painting. On the other hand, there is not lacking in his formal stylistic qualities something which anticipates the massiveness of the Orcagna.

The third personality reconstructed in this volume is the Master of the Fabriano Altarpiece, a timid artist whose most remarkable oeuvre is grouped around the well-known *Triptych of 1354* formerly in the Hamilton Collection in New York, now in the National Gallery in Washington, which Berenson believes he can attribute to the early phase of Allegretto Nuzi.

This painting and other works which Offner, on the contrary (and I, too), attributes to a Florentine master, fall within the orbit of Daddi's activity and reveal the hand of a refined and almost Hellenizing artistic temperament which spontaneously creates a fluid movement of life. He tends, too, toward miniaturist taste but he does so with a peculiar feeling and tone even before his contact with Daddi. Certain relations, especially to the works of Bernardo's first period, are furthermore demonstrated by an abundance of comparisons as when a motif is used that derives from Pacino di Bonaguida or that is analogous to Jacopo di Casentino. But these are not the only influences that affected this artist who was born around 1320 and presumably active throughout the entire third quarter of the Trecento. As a matter of fact, he also shows the influence of Andrea and Nardo di Cione as well as connections with the third of the Orcagnas in a certain stress on expression, in certain compositional schemes and, further, in the patterning of the rich deep brocades of the garments of his figures.

Even in the *Saint Anthony among Worshipers* in the Pinacoteca in Fabriano, a work of the first period with the fragmentary date MCCCIII . . . , one finds in the austere figure in a rigorously frontal position echoes of Andrea which are more marked in more advanced works such as *St. Matthew between Two Saints* in the storeroom of the Uffizi. This badly overpainted picture deserves restoration in view of the beautiful quality of the parts which are still intact. The previously mentioned *Saint Anthony* shows that the unknown artist worked in Fabriano and this is confirmed by the presence of Saint Venantius in the triptych now in Washington.

Offner, furthermore, attributes the *Saint Anthony*, who forms the counterpart to this saint and is unfortunately extensively restored, to Allegretto Nuzi (who also copied this triptych, in 1369, in another in the Pinacoteca in Macerata). To be entirely convinced by this ingenious hypothesis of collaboration, one would have to examine the original, which I have not yet been able to do. But I should like to add that in several paintings such as the predella in the Stoclet Collection in Brussels (*Christ in the House of Simon and Martha*, *Noli Me Tangere*, *Communion of the Magdalen*), the polyptych at Petrogniano near Barberino Val d'Elza, and the triptych formerly in the Galleria Corsini now owned by Baroness Ricasoli in Florence, one finds, in addition to Daddesque influences and Orcagnesque massiveness, narrative motifs and pale and cold flesh tones inspired by Giovanni da Milano. Pale and cold, indeed, are the saints assembled in the two earliest panels in the Gallery of Parma which Toesca has already characterized as close to the style of that Lombard painter. Offner,



incidentally, suggests that these panels flanked a *Coronation* in the Spada Cemani Collection in Lucca, an arrangement which would repeat a compositional scheme used by the Assistant of Daddi.

A *Madonna del Latte* of unknown whereabouts formerly in the dispersed Artaud de Montor Collection seems to belong to this group, to judge by reproductions, and bears the date of 1360 and the signature of a Puccio who cannot be identified with any degree of certainty, as for a time was believed, with the rather crude Puccio di Simone who painted and signed a polyptych in the Accademia in Florence. Our noble and extremely delicate master should, therefore, probably be identified with another artist of the same name.

The handsome volume closes with a learned iconographic appendix on the Coronation of the Virgin, the Last Judgment, and the Meeting of the Quick and the Dead. In this volume, it will be noted, the rich and accurate bibliography has largely been freed of the ballast of the preceding volumes in which critical judgments had been treated on the same level as the more or less empirical attributions endlessly repeated in short modern guides or popular books.

In its entirety, this volume will be regarded as a tangible contribution to learning in view of certain felicitous identifications and reconstructions of paintings and, above all, because of the reconstruction of the oeuvre of the three personalities who form its subject.

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JOAN EVANS, *English Art 1307-1461*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1949. 293 pages, 96 plates, 13 figures. \$10.00.

This volume is the first to be published as part of the Oxford History of English Art, edited by T. S. R. Boase. The announced intention is to publish eleven volumes, of which this will form the fifth, and thus to give for the first time a chronological survey of English art, "treating all branches of the visual arts as part of the general history of England." It is a pleasure to find English men and women of our time taking a more serious and systematic interest in their artistic heritage. They have often shown a greater interest in art criticism than in the history of art, perhaps because they "suspect the wider speculations"—to use the editor's happy phrase—which the history of art generally demands.

The generalizations in this new book by Dr. Joan Evans, stimulating as they usually are, are not easy enough or numerous enough to make a reader lazy. Indeed there are sometimes so many examples to illustrate each point that, what with the descriptions of each example, the point itself is sometimes almost forgotten by the reader. This, of course, is the difficulty of all surveys if they attempt to be comprehensive. Dr. Evans'

literary and historical background supplies her with helpful quotations to enliven her points and she writes, as always, with knowledge and enthusiasm and with the ease of the mature scholar.

In the first chapters Dr. Evans considers what she calls the central period of English mediaeval art. She traces the origins of the Decorated Style back to the elegant refinement of the crosses which the bereaved Edward I erected in memory of his dead queen, Eleanor of Castille. The book really begins with the death of Edward in 1307. The reign of his frivolous and pleasure loving son, Edward II, saw the introduction of an intimate, courtly style.<sup>1</sup> In 1330, under Edward III, came the inevitable reaction when an art of dignity and display was introduced. If the Decorated Style originated in the northern and eastern counties, Dr. Evans sees the impetus for the succeeding Perpendicular Style as coming from the west, particularly from Gloucestershire. During the minority of Richard II, the great nobles carried on its development. Then came the extravagant brilliance of Richard's maturity which rivaled the luxury of the French court and of which the Wilton Diptych is the best-known example. (Dr. Evans attributes this controversial painting to an Englishman under French influence.) The official style of Richard's successor has the cold formality of all official styles.

The last half of the book is a series of chapters, "a series of vignettes rather than a continuous story," covering the Houses of the Great, Funeral Effigies, Canopied Tombs, Chantry and Colleges, and Towns and Villages. The development of the tomb is especially well traced, from the brasses to the tomb chests to the chantry chapel and wall niche. Dr. Evans describes the part which chantry foundations played in the origin of Oxford and Cambridge. Chantry colleges, founded to pray for the souls of the departed donors, came to include fellows who taught school. These chantry colleges sometimes had separate buildings where their fellows lived, and the early university colleges were influenced by their plan and shared the obligation to pray for the souls of their founders.

The plates at the back of the book are clear and well chosen and, when illustrations are lacking here, there are usually references to them in other books. There is a long and helpful bibliography. While it may not have the appeal of Dr. Evans' several books on mediaeval France, this book presents a rich storehouse of material in handy form and will be of lasting value.

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*Baroque and Romantic Stage Design*, edited by János Scholz, introduction by A. Hyatt Mayor. H. Bittner

1. The charming grotesqueries (called *babewyns* from baboon) of the East Anglian psalters of this period have been "admirably published," as Dr. Evans says, by Professor Donald

D. Egbert in *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts*, New York and Princeton, 1940, from the original in the New York Public Library.



& Company, New York, 1950. 122 reproductions on 97 plates, 40 pages of text. \$10.00.

- A. HYATT MAYOR, *The Bibiena Family*, H. Bittner & Company, New York, 1945. 37 pages, 53 plates. \$12.50.

It was early in 1940 that Mr. Herbert Bittner opened an exhibition of "Theatre Decorations." The neat folder which was distributed as a catalogue and listed the original drawings on exhibit bore on its cover a cut of Bernardino Galliari's design for an opera, *Alexander the Great*. The same fine drawing is reproduced in the present volume (pl. 49) as part of the collection of Mr. János Scholz, the editor.

Mr. Bittner's exhibition of 1940 was not the first showing of theatrical designs in this country but it has been the most influential. The Museum of Modern Art in New York put on an "International Exhibition of Theatre Art" in 1934. When its material, brought together from all over the world by Lee Simonson, was returned to the owners only the well illustrated catalogue, *Theatre Art*, New York, Norton, 1934, remained as a reference book. Mr. Bittner's initiative was more successful; his exhibition attracted lovers of theatre art and connoisseurs of fine drawings. It also laid the foundation for more than one private American collection concentrating on stage design. Moreover, in the same year, H. Bittner & Co. announced that "following the request of many university and museum libraries, schools of architecture and drama, art historians, stage designers and students to own a record of our recent exhibition of *Theatre Decorations* we have decided to publish, after careful selection, the most important originals in three portfolios."

This rather expensive series with 72 plates, 10 x 14 inches in size, was published between June and October 1940 under the title *Theatrical Designs from the Baroque through Neoclassicism, Unpublished Material from American Private Collections*. The edition was limited to 125 copies and has been out of print for some time. This fact, so I learned, was one of the reasons for the publication of the new volume which widened the period to include Baroque to Romantic design and also enlarged the scope of reproductions from the rather limited 72 selections from American private collections to an internationally owned group of 122 pictures, including not only drawings from European collections but also prints to illustrate certain phases in the history of stage design for which original drawings were not easily obtainable. The greater part of this material has been well reproduced in halftones and bound together in a handy and handsome volume which sells for what the publishers term a popular price. I have been told by one of the lenders that it was originally hoped that the volume would sell for six dollars or less and be used as a textbook for university students. This, evidently and unfortunately, could not be done. Certainly the book is of importance to students who desire a thorough understanding of the nature of

the Baroque in architecture, for nowhere but on the theater stage could there be executed and exhibited in cheap material such inventions and dreams of the creative mind. Nowhere but on the operatic stage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did music-loving audiences come to realize the genuine interrelation between the melody of tones and architectural composition. At this point, the general public for whom this book is designed will join the scholar and the connoisseur in enjoying "the lyric elegance and sumptuous splendor" offered in abundance throughout its pages.

There remains, however, the following question: what are the student and the general public to do if they wish more than to be merely delighted by fine drawings? If, for instance, they want to know the purpose of these designs, how such more or less fugitive sketches were made into settings for the stage, how they were built, shifted, lighted, and so forth, they will not find much elucidation.

There is a short introduction by A. Hyatt Mayor, Curator of Prints at the Metropolitan Museum. He has compressed his vast knowledge of architecture in general and stage design in particular into four and a half pages. This condensation, of course, insinuates rather than points out facts about architectural drawings. Mr. Mayor explains the exploration and use of mathematical perspective since the early fifteenth century; he quotes Sebastiano Serlio in the English translation of 1611. Serlio followed the classification of Vitruvius but accepted the optical forms (as distinguished from the stereometrical) defined by Alberti a hundred years earlier. He laid the foundation for stage design as it was practiced until the end of the nineteenth century. Mr. Mayor is not quite correct when he attributes "the liberation of stage design . . . into the freedom of fancy" to Pompeo Pedemonte, whose practice furnished the learned Daniele Barbaro with a theory of perspective stage construction. It should be remembered that Serlio described and demanded stage settings more beautiful than nature, whereas Barbaro requested imitation of reality, with natural effects and correct colors, so far as they could be achieved. This is a difference of approach and taste. Pedemonte's quotation was published (1568) more than twenty years after Serlio's second book on architecture (1545). But we also know that Serlio referred again and again to his master Baldassare Peruzzi and to Girolamo Genga whose stage settings, made decades earlier, he admired greatly.

The number of sixteenth century stage designs which we may judge from pictorial records is very limited. In any case, we know very little about Pompeo Pedemonte apart from the fact that he taught Daniele Barbaro who calls him "homo industrioso e pratico." I recall two perspective drawings, one woodcut and one chiaroscuro print of the period illustrating that plausible perspective in which the "audience could not tell where the constructed buildings of the forestage met their continuation in the painted backdrop" (pp. i-xii). Two perspective drawings by Francesco Salviati are in the British Museum; the stage design is in the published

text of the play *Il Granchio* of 1566;<sup>1</sup> the chiaroscuro print after a stage setting by Bartolomeo Neroni made in 1560 for the production of *L'Ortensio* exists in two versions—one is reproduced in Allardyce Nicoll's *The Development of the Theatre*, p. 89, fig. 83, after a print by Hieronymus Bols; the other, by Andrea Andreani with a long dedicatory inscription to Scipio Bargagli, is dated 1579. Here spaciousness is combined with persuasive illusion of depth and airiness, very different from the narrowing vistas in Peruzzi's and even Vincenzo Scamozzi's streets in the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza and all'Antica at Sabbioneta. Of course, it makes little difference whether the "general public" knows when and why movable scenery became desirable and how it worked. Be that as it may, Mr. Mayor skips that interesting phase of the revival of the *periaktoi* of the Greek stage as described by Vitruvius and commented on by Barbari. Bernardo Buontalenti used them for real wonders of the theater stage in 1589, and Annibale Carracci made them into an attractive set of etchings.<sup>2</sup> This *scena versatilis*, however, imposed too much symmetrical composition on the designer; the *scena ductilis* worked out for the modern stage by Giovanni Battista Alotti as early as 1606 and brought to perfection when the Teatro Farnese in Parma was ready for a performance in 1618,<sup>3</sup> really provided sliding backdrops and flat wings. From then on, all the fantastic changes of scenery and the fairy-talelike appearances of gods in and out of clouds were made possible, and, because of them, children of all ages are still attracted by the thought of becoming stage mechanics. Mr. Mayor notes correctly that it took the stage designers almost two hundred years before the backward slope of the stage floor was brought under mathematical control. Originally this incline was one of the Renaissance experiments for aiding the illusion of perspective, and the placing of side-wings obliquely to the stage front was to conceal prompters and stagehands from the eyes of the audience. This was the result of the studies of Giulio Troili (Trogli) and Andrea Pozzo around 1690. Immediately afterwards, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena dared to present stage scenery "at an angle," moving away from the monotony of central perspective that had dominated stage sets since 1507 when Ludovico Ariosto's play *Cassaria* was produced on a stage representing a street with a perspective view of houses, churches, spires and gardens.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Mayor's comments on stage lighting are confined to four lines of printed text (p. xii). This is perhaps an oversimplification. One of the principal differences between ancient and mediaeval staging and

modern productions beginning with the Renaissance was that the latter were performed at night under artificial light. How to appropriately light the setting and the actors certainly presented a problem, not to mention how to ventilate rooms lit by dozens of torches, hundreds of oil lamps, thousands of candles, or a combination of all three. There is plenty of information on theatrical lighting from the Middle Ages to the present. For the sixteenth century, the most critical period because of inventions and experimentation with new techniques and methods, we have the *Dialoghi* by Leone de' Somi (about 1565) translated by Allardyce Nicoll in the 1937 edition of *The Development of the Theatre*. Thirty years later there was Angelo Ingegneri's *Il discorso della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, Ferrara, Boldini, 1598. This author really touches on all the obstacles which still obstructed full enjoyment on the part of the spectators and comfort on the part of the actors.<sup>5</sup>

The illusion created through lighting, the power and intensity of the lights both on the stage and in the auditorium, were of great importance in the use of colors for both stage sets and costumes. It is true that a great number of preserved stage designs are monochrome, executed in pen or crayon plus brown or gray washes, and that a great deal of their artistic impact springs from the contrast of these tints with the cream or bluish drawing paper on which they are made. Nevertheless, I do not agree with Mr. Mayor when he says that "the stage sets that were made from most of the drawings in this book were almost as monochrome as these illustrations." It certainly was the main job of the scene painters to bring out the contrast between areas of light and shadow since stage lighting of the flats could not do it. It should not be overlooked, however, that there are more illuminated scene designs than are generally known. In the first place there are the numerous examples from the middle of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Nazionale, in Turin, published by Allardyce Nicoll in *Stuart Masques*. For the early eighteenth century, there is the magnificent score for the opera *Giunio Bruto* in the Vienna National-Bibliothek. It was made for and given to the Emperor Joseph I and has not less than seventeen scene designs in water color by Filippo Juvarra.<sup>6</sup> From these alone it becomes clear that there was a general tendency toward bright tints like light blue and greyish-white and a translucent red with gold and shining yellow. Even where brown shades are employed, red is predominant in them. Is there any reason for denying Bellotto's stage settings the plasticity and bright coolness so characteristic of

1. One of the Salviati drawings is reproduced in H. H. Borchardt, *Das Europäische Theater im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1935, fig. 79, p. 113; "Il Granchio" in Lily B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1923, pl. 2, and Sheldon Cheney, *Stage Decoration*, New York, John Day & Co., 1928, opposite pl. 23.

2. Aby Warburg, "I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589," *Atti dell' Accademia del R. Istituto Musicale di Firenze*, 1895; reprinted in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, I, pp. 259ff. See also *Theatre Annual*, New York,

1944, pp. 60-61.

3. *Theatre Annual*, 1944, pp. 61-65.

4. Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Turin, 1891, II, p. 394.

5. cf. A. Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, London, Harrap & Co., 1937, p. 133.

6. One of them is reproduced in color in Robert Haas, *Die Musik des Barock*, Wildpark-Potsdam, Athenaeon, 1929, pl. VIII; another in Alexander von Weilen, *Geschichte des Wiener Theaterwesens*, Vienna, 1901, I, pl. 2.



Canaletto's views of Venice, Vienna or Dresden, or Tiepolo's contemporaries the festive splendor of the murals in the Palazzo Labia or the ceilings of the Würzburg palace?

Professor A. M. Friend of Princeton, who contributed some of the finest of the designs reproduced in this volume, has recently acquired the magnificent sketchbook by Domenico Fossati, part of which was published by H. Tintelnot in *Barocktheater und barocke Form*, Berlin, 1939. Several of them are executed polychromatically. One may hope that they will be published in true color reproductions for the sake of those who believe in monochrome monotony. The somewhat worn original stage sets preserved at Mannheim and at Drottningholm, Ludwigsburg and Krumlov castles reveal less of their original colors than the eighteenth century designs by Juvarra, Deprez, Alessandro Bibiena and various members of the Quaglio family. If we were to add one of the so-called scenographic paintings by Stefano Orlandi (1681-1760),<sup>7</sup> we would understand the extent of the variety of the palettes of scene designers and painters even from Richard Waller's limited reds and browns to Paul Sandby's "almost modern range of pigments" (pp. xii-xiii).

Nevertheless, Mr. Mayor is entirely right when he reminds us of the fact that the inventions of the great Baroque scene designers have much in common with *concerti grossi* from Lully and Corelli to Händel. Seldom is the realization that architecture is "frozen music" revealed to us more strikingly than in looking at fine Baroque stage designs.

Mr. János Scholz opens the Catalogue with an interesting essay on the sources of most of the material included in the volume. We learn that he himself was fortunate enough to acquire a large part of the collection of Michael Mayr (1796-1870), a Viennese stage designer who was more important as a collector of scene designs by others than as an artist in that craft. We probably shall receive still more elucidation from this collection when Mr. Scholz publishes the forty drawings by Bellotto which he found among the stage designs by Lorenzo Sacchetti (1759-1829). It is also most interesting to know that Giovanni Piancastelli's vast collection of drawings is now almost entirely in American hands. We learn with pleasure that Mr. Scholz bought some thousand Italian drawings from Brandegee Mansion in Brookline, Massachusetts, among them no less than forty-nine designs by the Bibienas. Of course the reproductions in the book are not exclusively of designs in Mr. Scholz' collection. More than fifty illustrate pieces in public and private collections in this country and in Europe.

The Catalogue proper lists the designs in a somewhat chronological sequence. Apart from a magnificent plate after Vincenzo Rê, inserted with no number among the pages of the catalogue, there are 121 illustrations, most of them reduced in size. It is not always clear why some designs, especially reproductions of prints, have been given a full page, while original drawings of fine quality are reduced to half-page size. This observation leads directly to the question of the principles applied in selecting what has been published in this volume. It certainly is gratifying to note that the editor did not confine himself to the range indicated by the title of the book. Instead he begins with two frequently reproduced designs, probably by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1537), which are part of the permanent stock of the history of the stage. They are followed by Sebastiano Serlio's *Scena comica*, strongly influenced by Peruzzi's composition and concept. But here I think it would have been desirable to include a little more information than is given in Mr. Scholz' most meager biographical data—a caption, the technique, and the names of the collections through which the originals have come. Even these notes are not always correct. For instance, Peruzzi's left half of a street scene (No. 1) is in the Palazzo Reale in Turin, whereas it is acknowledged (p. 21) as coming from Florence. Of course, this is of little importance for the general reader. It is only one typical error and an indication of a certain haste in the compilation of the contents. For example, No. 7 is fully signed by Alfonso Parigi, Giulio Parigi's son, but here it is listed under the father's name and with an incorrect title. It is a scene from *La Flora* by Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri. No. 8, on the same page, illustrates one of the intermezzi for Buonarroti's *Il giudizio di Paride* performed in 1608. Both are etchings, not engravings. It is my opinion that a bit more information would have been desirable, even if it were nothing more than the quotation of O. G. T. Sonneck's *Catalogue of Opera Librettos Printed before 1800*,<sup>8</sup> or Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600-1637*.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps it would be useful to mention that other and more detailed sketches for Vincenzo Scamozzi's permanent streets for the Teatro Olimpico are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes one has the impression that accidental findings in the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum were taken as they came, without much concern for their quality and importance in the history of scene design. On the other hand, it is most gratifying to have the designs attributed to Sallustio Peruzzi (No. 6) side by side with the closely related ones by Vincenzo Scamozzi. One would like to know a bit more about the

7. G. Ferrari, *La scenografia*, Milan, Hoepli, 1902, pl. LXV.

8. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1914.

9. Florence, 1905.

10. Nicoll, *Development*, fig. 88. For a better understanding, I would recommend the plates in Montenari, *Del teatro olimpico di Andrea Palladio*, Padua, 1733, or Patte, *Description du théâtre de la ville de Vicence*, Paris, 1780, by no means rare books. Nor can I see a reason for offering Orazio Scaramelli's reproductions of Bernardo Buontalenti's designs for a street decoration in Florence and the Naval Battle performed

on the eve of the marriage festivities of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine in 1589 without even mentioning Buontalenti's drawings or A. Carracci's etchings for the intermezzi of *La Pellegrina*. Torelli's (pl. 11) Harbor Scene with the Piazzetta of Venice on the backdrop is just one of a set, three more of which are illustrated in Appendix C in Allardyce Nicoll's *Development*, where there are also seven other typical stage designs by this "great sorcerer." No. 12 is made from a poor print; a better one is reproduced in Haas, *op.cit.*, p. 176.



"similar drawings in the Uffizi," or at least a reference to a listing of them. However, this pair of drawings begins the magnificent procession of original designs by famous artists which make up the bulk of this pleasant book. Here, again, the question arises as to what were the leading ideas in the selection and arrangement of the pictures. It is highly amusing to glance at Stefano della Bella's (what evidence is there for his authorship?) *Council of the Knights of Malta* (No. 13) and at the same time at the somewhat problematic drawing, attributed to Guercino, representing the audience in front of a stage. Those drawings, related by their strictly symmetrical composition, are very different in subject matter. Stefano della Bella's drawing pictures a solemn meeting of noblemen and is contrasted with Guercino's vivid representation of an attentive theatrical audience where pickpockets find good opportunities. Is Stefano della Bella's a stage design? Has it anything to do with the theatre apart from the fact that the formal arrangement is "conceived almost as a theatrical set" (pl. 6)? This attitude has, in my opinion, done much damage to sincere studies in the field of scenic art. I am aware that *Monumenta scenica*, which is one of the finest pictorial sets as far as technical reproduction and publishing are concerned, is also one of the poorest in interpretation of the material considered and that it has been firing the ambition of editors and publishers and clouding the concept of what *Monumenta* means. There are, in fact, innumerable important pictorial documents which ought to be published but probably never will be because showy expensive publications consume the funds that might be allotted to them. In this book, there is not a single design by Inigo Jones or Jacques Callot, Vigarani, Berain, St. Aubin, Harms, Fokke and many others, although it would not have been too difficult to secure photographs of originals or prints. It is also surprising how little use has been made of the collection of scene designs in the Cooper Union Museum, quite a few of which would be worthwhile retrieving from the Cinderella existence of that institution's *Chronicle*.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult, too, to understand why the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library, from which highly important drawings by Piranesi have only recently been published,<sup>12</sup> were entirely neglected.

In stage design as in other branches of the fine arts, a great many artists' names are handed down to us along with innumerable pictures and drawings that are anonymous and there has been an inclination toward the accumulation of the anonymous works under the famous names. Apart from this, it is understandable that the owner of a work of art would rather regard it as an original than as a copy. To begin with the last observation, I am sorry to say that No. 17, regarded by Mr. Scholz as an original drawing by Andrea Pozzo,

is a copy from the latter half of the eighteenth century and in the style of Louis XVI. Since it is well known that about eighty per cent of all eighteenth century scene designs are attributed to the Bibiena family, it is gratifying that the editor made up his mind to push back into anonymity the extraordinarily powerful Scala Regia (No. 21). It is this critical analysis that we really need before we attach names to drawings and designs.

Illustrations Nos. 22 to 43 are attributed to members of the Bibiena family. There will be opportunity to discuss this subject later, in examining Hyatt Mayor's book. Here it should only be said that No. 23 may be attributed with certainty to Filippo Juvarra; one of the copper plates for *Teodosio il Grande*, produced in Rome in 1711, is almost identical. If we accept this change, we should not hesitate to attribute No. 30, where there is a very similar concept of movement and space, to the same artist. Among the designs attributed to the Bibienas and reproduced here for the first time, the over-decorated No. 28 from the Metropolitan Museum seems to possess the characteristics attributed by Ricci to Giovanni Maria the Younger, whereas the ornate No. 27 is apparently the work of Francesco, who designed the Vienna Opera House of 1700.<sup>13</sup> No. 35, if reliably reproduced, seems to be a counter-proof of the kind Rudolf Berliner refers to in the *Cooper Union Chronicle*.<sup>14</sup>

We reach firmer ground when we come to the Juvarra designs (Nos. 44-47) and only regret that the author does not refer to A. E. Brinckmann's volume of that master's designs.<sup>15</sup>

Four of the five members of the Galliari family are represented by scene designs; Fabrizio (1709-1790), one of the older generation, still reveals the melodious inventiveness of the eighteenth century; Bernardino and Giovanni expressed themselves in a monodic staccato; Gaspare, the youngest (1760-1818), based his romantic compositions on simple rhythms of chiaroscuro contrasts. His techniques as well as approach are highly typical of the school of Piranesi which tried to apply that master's gigantic ideas to the possibilities of the stage.

Mr. Scholz confirms his reputation as a connoisseur and critic by correctly identifying the nervous sketches of Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni which match those shown in *Monumenta scenica* II, 16, and by Gregor, *Wiener Szenische Kunst*, I, fig. 29.<sup>16</sup>

The two designs by Jacques de Lajoue (Nos. 66, 67) are an asset to this volume. These examples of French scenic art of the eighteenth century are the only designs in this volume to which the term Rococo might be applied.

Once again the full orchestration of Baroque design is heard when we look at the two sketches by Piranesi.

11. Rudolf Berliner, "The Stage Designs of the Cooper Union Museum," *Chronicle of the Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union*, I, 1941, p. 285.

12. Felice Stampfle, "An Unknown Group of Drawings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, p. 122.

13. Mayor, pls. 14 and 18.

14. Vol. I, 1, No. 8, pp. 291-293.

15. *Comitato per le onoranze a Filippo Juvarra*, I, I disegni, Turin, 1937.

16. See also *Les peintres français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Histoire des vies et catalogue des oeuvres*, Ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. Louis Dimier, Paris and Brussels, G. Van Oest, 1930, II, pp. 379-392, where two models of symmetrically composed, highly colorful stage settings are reproduced.

Domenico Fossati's and Josef Platzer's drawings, ingenious as they are, bring us back to earth and show what is possible on the theater stage.

The black and white reproductions of Alessandro Sanquirico's colored aquatints, illustrating sets for La Scala in Milan, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel's neo-classical prints in the same technique (evidently drawn from one of the later 1847, 1861, 1874, monochrome editions) lead the reader directly into the problems of nineteenth century theatrical art.<sup>17</sup>

I shall not go into much detail in reviewing Mr. Mayor's book on the Bibiena Family. The first in the series of the Bittner Art Monographs, it was written during, and printed and published shortly after, the Second World War, when the material was not yet or not easily accessible, when even time for proofreading was scarce.

The book opens with a calligraphical family tree of the Bibiena Family. There follow twenty pages of text, five more pages of a "List of Works and Dates," plus four of a "List of Illustrations." The latter involves critical and biographical notes. Additional bibliography is found in the above-mentioned list of works and dates which, as the author says, "is based on Oskar Pollak's articles in Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 3, 1909, with additions and corrections from later sources." The family tree, too, is taken from Pollak's article. As the author states that "corrections and amplifications will be welcomed," I shall try to confine myself to such criticism.

What I regret most is that Mr. Mayor deals almost exclusively with the theatrical works of the Bibienas although buildings and paintings of other kinds still exist and would not only have given a more complete picture of their activities but would also have clarified our understanding of their theatrical work. I also wish that the biographical notes had been less scattered and a bit more precise and complete. The most puzzling aspect of the book is the fact that the author stresses what the artist members of the family have in common, rather than that which distinguishes them, as far as their artistic handwriting is concerned. This, in my opinion, should have been the purpose of the book, apart from presenting a great Baroque show.

Cornelius Gurlitt first introduced the Bibienas into the history of art.<sup>18</sup> They remained a somewhat vast cooperative until the *Associazione degli amici del Museo*

*Teatrale* opened in 1915 at La Scala a *Mostra scenografica "I Bibiena"* which was inaugurated with an address by Corrado Ricci.<sup>19</sup> The result was Ricci's portfolio of 96 plates and an essay on *I Bibiena, architetti teatrali*, Milan, 1915. The essay as such was repeated in his book *Figure e figure del mondo teatrale*, Milan, 1920, but enlarged only by bibliographical notes. Ricci generously distributed the wealth of his material among the members of the Bibiena family. He did not make any attempt, however, to classify their artistic individualities on the grounds of analysis of style. This was what I hoped Mr. Mayor's research and writing would bring about. Unfortunately, it has not. Therefore, we must wait for the next opportunity offered by a publisher of scholarly ambition. Mr. Mayor felt that necessity well when he put down attributions as "possibly Francesco" or "probably Fernando or Francesco." Some clarification, however, has taken place within the last five years, i.e. between the publication of the two books reviewed here. A number of plates appear in both volumes; Mr. Scholz has now made up his mind as to definite attribution although only two of the designs are authenticated: Mayor No. 48-Scholz No. 36 is dated and inscribed by a member of the Bibiena family to the then twenty-one year-old Antonio. Mayor No. 10-Scholz No. 25 has been identified by Mr. Mayor as a design for a plate in Ferdinando Bibiena's *Varie opere di prospettiva*. I agree with Mr. Mayor, who hesitates to attribute "so labored a drawing" to Ferdinando himself. It appears, in fact, from every detail that this is a copy made by a careful but not too talented student. If such comparison and research had been made for each one of the pictures, the goal would more nearly have been achieved. That is, all available designs should first be compared with the prints made from them in order to ascertain what was in the original and what was added or changed by the printmaker.<sup>20</sup> Second, which of the signatures (Mayor Nos. 26 and 50) or attributions (Mayor No. 48, Scholz No. 24) are dependable enough to be used as criteria? What about the proportions and the forms (No. 51) of columns and pillars employed by the various artists? It seems to me that certain conclusions as to chronology may be made by observing the forms of the balusters (for example, Nos. 44 and 45) or the way foliage is drawn (Nos. 33, 40, 42, 50). If it is true that Antonio was the only one in the family who was able to draw the human figure (Nos. 42 and 48), who made the

17. For a new edition of this book I recommend the following additions to the rather arbitrarily selected bibliography: Johannes Bemann, *Die Bühnenbeleuchtung vom geistlichen Spiel bis zur frühen Oper als Mittel künstlerischer Illusion*, Dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1933; Hans Heinrich Borchardt, *Das Europäische Theater im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1936; A. E. Brinckmann, *Filippo Juvarra*, Turin, 1937; Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 2nd ed. Halle, 1911; Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Turin, 1891; Giulio Ferrari, *La scenografia, Cenni storici dall'epoca classica ai nostri giorni*, Milan, Hoepli, 1902; Allardyce Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre*, New Edition, London, Harrap & Co., 1937; *idem*, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, London,

Harrap & Co., 1937; Günter Schöne, *Die Entwicklung der Perspektivbühne von Serlio bis Galli-Bibiena. Nach den Perspektivbüchern*, Leipzig, 1933; Percy Simpson and E. F. Bells, *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays*, Oxford, Walpole and Malone Societies, 1924; Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, Florence, 1905; *Theatre Art Prints*, Introduction by John Mason Brown, New York, John Day, 1929.

18. *Geschichte des Barockstils*, Stuttgart, 1887, chap. 21.

19. G. Marangoni and C. Vanbianchi, *La Scala*, Bergamo, 1922, p. 322.

20. Mayor No. 34, p. 36; Mayor No. 36—reversed but identical with *Süddeutsche Theaterdekorationen aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 1926, pl. 5.



figurines and statuary for the many designs attributed to Giuseppe? Is the type of boneless statuary in the etchings (Nos. 3, 8, 9, etc.), i.e. those having a proportion of 1:8 for head to body, typical of Ferdinando or is it the manner of the reproducing etcher? What can be derived from the costumes worn by the actors in the designs to help define the period of origin? Is architectural overdecoration, as in Nos. 6 and 48, characteristic of Antonio at a certain period or of Francesco (as in Nos. 6, 7, 14, 18)? In Giuseppe's big oeuvre of prints<sup>21</sup> there are also works executed by other members of the family dating back to 1711,<sup>22</sup> and quite a few of the plates may be dated by the events for which they were made. The question arises whether a chronological sequence can be constructed and a stylistic sequence then based upon it. There are the two open-air festivals of 1716 (Alcina, Mayor, No. 15) and 1723<sup>23</sup> that certainly show some characteristics of Giuseppe's early style. Is it really possible to date the stage sets made "in occasione delli Sponsali del Principe Reale di Polonia ed Elettorale di Sassonia" (Mayor 37-Hammitzsch 97) as of 1719? I ask the question because in this print Giuseppe's proper method and invention of composition is already fully developed. Günter Schöne, *Entwicklung der Perspektivbühne von Serlio bis Galli-Bibiena*,<sup>24</sup> after having explained Ferdinando's method of seeing a stage set "at an angle," defines Giuseppe's innovation as follows: "The space on the stage is now turned around to such an extent, in relation to the proscenium opening, that the cross formed by the axes of the setting and the stage front is no longer 45 degrees (as it was with Ferdinando) but at different angles to the proscenium."<sup>25</sup> By this method symmetry, which was still basic for Ferdinando, was abolished; the stage set appeared to be, if not casual, at least incidental. The answer to this question seems of less importance for the specific biography of Giuseppe than for the history of stage design as such. The problem is, when did Giuseppe make his innovation, and which of his uncles, brothers, cousins and other followers accepted it? In regard to the chronology of Giuseppe's oeuvre it has been suggested that the year 1747 should be accepted for his designs for *Doppelte Vermählungsfeier*. That year the prince electoral, Friedrich Christian of Saxony and Poland, married the princess Maria Antonia of Bavaria, and Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, was married to Maria Anna, princess of Saxony. This date would change the publication years of Giuseppe Bibiena's *Architettura e prospettiva*, which Mr. Mayor has already extended from 1740 to 1744, to at least 1747. There are other problems and questions. For instance, would it not have been advantageous to do some research in iconography? It might be possible to identify the longbearded victor over the Turk on the top of the triumphal arch (Mayor 48-Scholz 36—Theatrical Designs 1, 5). Is it purely accidental that

portraits of a nobleman and a lady are drawn onto the cartouches carried by putti between the second-story columns in Mayor No. 6? I believe that a search among plays and opera librettos of the period would throw light on the meaning of that cabinet or temple of love (Scholz No. 35). All this would require much more time and should be done with material much larger than that which Mr. Mayor had at his disposal.

A few specific remarks may be of some help in a new edition of the book. Let me begin with the family tree. Why does Giovanni Maria "Il Fontaniere" (1625-1665) have no entry in the "List of Works and Dates"? It seems that this painter of running water and fountains in other people's pictures did some work for the theater. In *Architektur-Zeichnungen*<sup>26</sup> there is a drawing for a *scenae frons* in two stories with three rectangular passageways. The structure is placed on a pedestal built of three courses of irregular, i.e. rusticated, blocks. Four steps lead up to the central opening which, although not wider than the lateral ones, is flanked by widely set pairs of Corinthian columns, each of which corresponds to a double set of Corinthian pilasters. Between these pilasters, which mark the wall proper of the structure, are niches with statues of bearded men on bases decorated with reliefs. Reliefs are also inserted over the niches between the capitals. Three rows of Corinthian pillars placed on a pavement of square slabs lead to back exits. The central exit, a doorway with broken pediment and appropriate ornamentation, leads to the foreshortened view of a classical arch with a balustrade and trees in the background. The porticoes on both sides open on views of Roman ruins on the left and a rural building on the right. The halls appear to have ceilings with coffers decorated with rosettes. The entablature, which reminds one of that of the *Thermae of Caracalla*, has a frieze entirely decorated with reliefs. The second story over the front wall has straight rectangular open windows corresponding to the doorways below; their simplicity, however, is in contrast with the heavy vases and modillions over the columns, the volutes accompanying the verticals of the windows and reliefs corresponding to the statuary of the main story. The entire structure, though reminiscent of the *Teatro Olimpico*, has the formal coolness of Ferdinando Tacca's stage designs for *L'Ipermestra*, Florence, 1658. What is of importance, however, for the present discussion is the signature "G.M.G.B. 1664," i.e. Giovanni Maria Galli Bibiena, which appears twice and symmetrically on the floor in front of the pedestals of the statues. In my opinion, it would have been a good idea, too, to have shown one of Ferdinando's early works, for instance, the festivities in Piacenza and Parma of 1690, when the deep backstage of the *Teatro Farnese* was erected and the *Teatrino* built.

There were in Munich architectural drawings, stage

21. *Architettura e prospettiva dedicate alla Maestà di Carlo Sesto*, etc., 1740, cf. Mayor, p. 31.

22. Martin Hammitzsch, *Der moderne Theaterbau*, 1: *Der höfische Theaterbau*, Berlin, 1906, p. 156; Gurliitt, *op.cit.*, 1, fig. 200.

23. Costanza and Fortezza, Hammitzsch, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

24. Leipzig, Voss, 1933, p. 85.

25. My translation.

26. Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1922, pl. 16.



plans, and designs scaled to "Palmi di Barcellona." I think it would have been helpful if the author had clarified the real meaning of Ferdinando's etching (No. 3). Namely, that a strictly architectural ground plan (OPQR) is first projected onto the narrower surface of the sloping stage floor (MM, NN) and the perspective foreshortenings for the setting are then drawn up from this. This particular exactness as to architectural construction remains typical of all the Bibienas except Carlo, the only surviving scene designer in the fourth generation. Although the load of tradition was heavy on his shoulders, he finally seems to have understood that it is the show that matters, not architectural credibility. What we learn from his designs (of which plenty bearing his signature are extant)<sup>27</sup> is that he looked primarily for scenic effect. He was the first member of the Bibiena family who dared to deviate from what he had learned. The Galiari in Bologna had paved the way for the scene painter who was not necessarily a constructing architect.

What Mr. Mayor has read from the copies of Francesco Bibiena's drawings for the theatre in Verona (pp. 18, 20-21) is highly important. The fact that "the proscenium and the whole auditorium should be built of thin seasoned wood nailed on heavy beams to make a sounding instrument" is not as curious as it seems. All theatre structures were of wood (including the Teatro Olimpico and the Farnese). The Bayreuth Opera House (Mayor, pls. 22, 23, 24, 25) is of wood. But the interior of the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, was erected of brick and covered with plaster in 1755, and Antonio Galli Bibiena followed the same procedure for the Teatro Comunale, Bologna (1756-1763). Complaints of poor acoustics were voiced frequently concerning both buildings.

Mr. Mayor has referred to Nicola Sabbattini's *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine nei teatri*, Ravenna, 1638, as the first and by far most detailed manual of Baroque stage practice. Nearer to the Bibiena age and not less provincial than Sabbattini is Jacopo Fabris's (1689-1761) *Instruction in der teatralischen Architektur und Mechanique*, ed. by Torben Kroch, Copenhagen, 1930. Really important, however, is Johann Friedrich Penther's *Ausführliche Anleitung zur bürgerlichen Baukunst*, Augsburg, 1748, whereas the articles on "Theaters" in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie*, 1776-1777 (and volume of plates, 10), Paris, 1772, are contemporary to the period in question.

A few notes may be permitted as to Mr. Mayor's "List of Works and Dates." Facsimiles of plates for *Il favore degli dei*, Parma, 1690, are to be found in A. Wotquenne's *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century*

*Italian Librettos in the Royal Conservatory of Brussels*, for *L'Età dell' Oro*, Piacenza, 1690.<sup>28</sup> The title of Ferdinando's short article (p. 30) is not *Economia delle fabbriche*, etc., but *Encomio delle fabbriche*, etc. Francesco's *L'Architettura Maestra dell' arti che la compogono* was published in folio, Parma, 1711, according to Hammitzsch, *Der moderne Theaterbau*, p. 109.<sup>29</sup>

A *Reggia* in the Uffizi (almost as overdone as a *Sala Regia* from the Piancastelli Collection reproduced in Ricci, *I Bibiena*, pl. 47) has been attributed by Ricci<sup>30</sup> to Giovanni Maria the Younger (p. 32).

A suggestion rather than an explanation might be added to the Addendum (p. 33) in regard to the opera *Talestri, Regina delle Amazoni*, Leipzig, 1768. The score has three volumes, one for each act. Volume I has as title page an allegorical etching inscribed "C. Hutin inv. del., L. Zucchi fc." Before *Atto I, scena I*, is a *Gabinetto con sedie*, "F. Bibiena fecit." For *scena IV* there is a *Tempio di Diana*, "B. Müllers invenit e del." For *scena VIII* there is an *Atrio della Reggia*, "B. Müllers invenit e del." In *Atto II, scena I*, there are *Appartimenti contigui a giardini*, "F. Bibiena fecit." For *scena VII* there is a *Sala del Real Consiglio*, "F. Bibiena fecit." For *Atto III, scena I*, we have a *Recinto destinato alla custodia de Prigionieri*, "F. Bibiena fecit," and for *scena ultima*, there is a *Reggia da un lato, fortificazione esterne, dall' altro già occupato degli Sciti*, "B. Müllers inv. et del." The scene designs are numbered from 1 to 7. The next to the last is a drawing reproduced in Valerio Mariani, *Storia della scenografia italiana*, 1930, plate XIII, with the same signature, the same number (6), an identical caption which is enlarged to *Recinto destinato alla custodia de' prigionieri con varie carceri separate per li medesimi*. This same setting, one of the early explorations of "Gothic romanticism" as Mr. Mayor terms it in connection with his comment on plate 38, is found in *Theatralische Veränderungen, vorgestellt in einer zu Mayland vorgestellten Opera; Inventiert von Pietro Righini, zu Finden bey Martin Engelbrecht, Kupferstecher und Kunstverleger in Augsburg*. This publication is a portfolio of etchings 21.7 x 29 cm.<sup>31</sup> The series must have had a certain reputation. The Theater-Museum, Munich, used to have two contemporary oil paintings (73 x 108 cm.) made after two of the prints; one represented the same *Recinto*.<sup>32</sup> It is a question whether Righini (1680-1745), who definitely worked according to Ferdinando Bibiena's rules in regard to stage settings seen at an angle, used an idea of the older master or invented it himself. In any case, it appears that earlier designs were used as standard sets in the second half of the century. B. Müllers, who evidently was commissioned to make the sets for which no models were available, had already

27. Mayor, Nos. 46, 50; Scholz, Nos. 40, 41, 42, 43; Mariani, *Storia della scenografia italiana*, Florence, 1930, pls. 44, 45, 46.

28. See Georg Kinsky, *A History of Music in Pictures*, New York, 1930, p. 159, 3.

29. For Giuseppe's opera house for Warsaw (p. 31) see Hammitzsch, *op.cit.*, figs. 111-112, p. 163.

30. *I Bibiena*, Milan, 1915, pl. 48; reproduced from a

Brogi photo in Sheldon Cheney, *The Theatre, Three Thousand Years of Drama, Acting, and Stagecraft*, London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1929, opp. p. 217.

31. One of the plates is reproduced in Hammitzsch, *op.cit.*, pl. 55, p. 87, another in Ferrari, *op.cit.*, pl. 63.

32. *Deutsche Theaterausstellung Magdeburg 1927*, Historische Abteilung, No. 823, p. 91.

worked for the Dresden court in 1756 when the libretto for *Il Trionfo della Fedeltà* by the same princess was published.<sup>33</sup>

So far as the plates of the Bibiena volume are concerned, I find that the technique of reproduction employed here is better than the halftones in Mr. Scholz' book. Mayor No. 7 has, for example, a greater range of tone and plastic form than the same plate 22 in Mr. Scholz' book. I have no doubt that No. 13 is by Giuseppe; it is a paraphrase of Dresden impressions, with the characteristic silhouette of Chiaveri's Hofkirche in the background. I do not see why No. 51 has been attributed to Carlo. The form of the column appeared in Ferdinando's design for the Piacenza Festivals of 1690. As to the "unknown whereabouts" of the original, it probably could be located by inquiring of the Yale-Rockefeller Theatre Collection.<sup>34</sup>

Mr. Mayor quotes from Zanotti that Ferdinando taught "true architecture without cartouches and sprays and modern frippery" and, as a result of this attitude, rejected innovations like the Rococo. It is true that only one of the family was influenced by that new style. This was Alessandro, who settled permanently in Mannheim. The Opera House he built there in 1742 is rather well known<sup>35</sup> and many of his stage designs used to be in the print collection in Munich. They reveal that he could not help but make use of the shell work and flat ornament characteristic of Rococo decoration. Mr. Mayor's book shows one of them: it is the reproduction of a painting in the National Gallery, London, which appears on the jacket of the book. In this painting, Rococo people are assembled in front of a theatre stage, the proscenium of which is pure Rococo, whereas the setting on the stage is in the best tradition of Ferdinando and Giuseppe Galli Bibiena.

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WILHELM BOECK, *Joseph Anton Feuchtmayer*, Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth (*Denkmäler deutscher Kunst*), 1948.

This is a highly industrious and exhaustive, well-illustrated book about a gifted provincial artist, "the best known of the widely ramified family of sculptors and stucco workers of Wessobrunn." If we wish to view its subject in its widest significance, it is that such gifted artists flourished in Germany, numbers in such quiet hamlets as Mimmenhausen near Salem by Lake Constance.

It was just such provincial artists, less gifted but our own, whom I fled when—after finishing as a pious duty my *Mr. Samuel McIntire, the Architect of Salem* (Salem in Massachusetts that time)—I turned to

something of more central importance, *The Creation of the Rococo*. Boeck's book, one of the first fruits of scholarship in Germany since the war, is about the Rococo, but not about its creation. Feuchtmayer's designs, like McIntire's, are creative only in the sense that they delightfully ring the changes on established motifs created by others. In his case, also, they are derivative not at one but at two removes. If we look at the chapter "Treasury of Types for Altars," we see it is just that: a treasury of types, derived from Bernini and Pineau through German engravings, just as McIntire's designs were derived from Adam through Bulfinch.

Let us devote our space primarily to locating Feuchtmayer, his father, Franz Joseph, and his first master, Diego Francesco Carlone, in the history of style (or better, of taste)—to which, only, much of their work belongs.

The work of Franz Joseph (d. 1718), likewise stucco-modeler and sculptor, begins in 1682 in Austria. He worked chiefly at Linz, Kremsmünster, Seitenstetten and Salem (where he moved in 1706), in a highly ornamented provincial Baroque, in which appear certain decorative elements created by Pierre Lepautre in the late Louis XIV French royal works of 1701-1703. Carlone (1674-1750) was a wandering artist from the region of Como, of wholly late-Baroque Italian tradition. The young Feuchtmayer appears to have studied and worked under Carlone while still in Austria and to have continued his father's commissions. His own chief early work was in the woodcarving of the choir stalls of the abbey at Weingarten, which were already well advanced when he first appeared there in 1719, continuing until 1729. They are of almost purely North Italian character, richly adorned with herms and ornament of interlaces and bandwork. In his tasks at the abbey of Einsiedeln, 1730-1733, he worked under Carlone, who did the statues while Feuchtmayer did the secondary carving. It was from Carlone that he learned the technique of figural sculpture modeled in stucco which Feuchtmayer practiced with a mastery unequalled in Germany before or after him.

The decisive artistic turn in his work came "at almost a single stroke" on his encounter with the Rococo. Its influence first appears in his work for the chapel of the Neues Schloss at Meersburg, 1741-1742, for the Cardinal Prince-Bishop Damian von Schönborn who had previously built the palace at Bruchsal (1729-1732, by Maximilian von Welsch and Balthasar Neumann, who had been in Paris in 1723). Here an important stimulus was doubtless the "Weisungen des Kardinals," even though they, as printed, merely say of various features that the ornament shall be "wie es am besten ist" (p. 36). The richly ornamented rooms in Bruchsal are later, 1751-1755, and of the *genre pittoresque*, which had appeared in Paris by 1732. Formerly at-

33. Oscar G. Sonneck, *U.S. Library of Congress, Division of Music: Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800*, Washington, 1914, I, p. 109.

34. The same drawing has been published by George Freedley and John Reeves, *A History of the Theatre*, New

York, Crown Publishers, 1941, fig. 141, where it is shown together with a stage design for a kitchen and servant's quarters conceived according to the same simple scheme of a view at an angle.

35. *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 602ff.



tributed to J. A. Feuchtmayer, they are not accepted as his work by the author. They cannot have influenced his work at Meersburg.

What was "wie es am besten ist"? The author makes no comparisons with the earlier work at Bruchsal, which Feuchtmayer had never seen, but of which he could have seen some drawings in the hands of the Cardinal; nor does he compare the artist's work with other possible sources. But we may assert that what he actually saw was the early engraved designs of Cuvillies, of which the first, his *Livre de cartouches*, was published in Munich in 1738; his *Livre de lambris*, about 1740. We do not find in Feuchtmayer's work any complete features taken as a whole from Cuvillies' plates but it abounds in elements derived from them. Thus at Scheer, where he worked from 1743 onward, all the elements reproduced by the author (figs. 369-370) may be found in plates of Cuvillies' *Quatrième Livre*. Such elements were then the height of novelty, and they did not come suddenly to Feuchtmayer out of the air. Yet no suggestion of any relationship to Cuvillies appears in Boeck's book.

In such matters the book is only typical, alas, of many German discussions, which tend to be at least near-sighted in their passing over of models with which the authors ought to make themselves familiar. They tend to write about German altars and pulpits, for instance, as if the altars and pulpits of Notre Dame de Paris and of the Chapelle de Versailles did not exist (at least not mentioning them or any channels of diffusion from them). I did not note any observations regarding such French sources in Richard Hoffmann's *Bayerische Altarbaukunst*, 1923. Yet these executed French designs were of extreme generic novelty, very early, around 1707-1712. Engravings of them were made instantly and were widely available. They influenced secondary engraved designs of such features as even the late *Dessins d'autels* of "Cuvillies père et fils" in which almost everything may be readily traced back either to them or to designs of Oppenord and, after 1730, of Pineau. It should not be a mystery that the earliest altars in Bavaria with Rococo details are not made before 1740, when Cuvillies' earlier designs were available; nor were there altars with full Rococo character before the middle of the century (Gnadenaltar at Vierzeinhelligen, 1750, by Balthasar Neumann, who had known the works in Paris from his visit there in 1723). The case of pulpits is even more striking. The pulpit at Versailles, 1710, was of extreme originality, even in its circular plan, which had not been used since the Renaissance. Annemarie Henle (Mrs. John Pope) in her Heidelberg dissertation of 1923, *Die Typenentwicklung der süddeutschen Kanzel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, gives no hint of other than a native origin for the German pulpit of the eighteenth century, whereas clearly the determining influence came from the French pulpits and archiepiscopal thrones of Versailles and Notre Dame de Paris.

It has lately been asserted, and by a French scholar, that "the churches of Austria, of Swabia, and of Bavaria show that the Rococo developed there between 1715

and 1730, that is, practically at the same time as in France. . . . From the twelfth century Germany tended spontaneously to the Rococo (gilded hall of the castle at Bückeburg, 1605; designs for an altar by Friedrich Unteutsch, ca. 1650; tablet to Otto Dorgelo in the cathedral of Münster, 1625, etc.)." It does indeed "benefit by a background of autochthonous Baroque which was lacking in France" but the monuments mentioned are not of what is meant by Rococo, in any sense. The first instance listed is of what is now called Mannerism; the others at best are what is indisputably to be called Baroque. We grant, cheerfully, that the seeds both of Italian Baroque and of French Rococo fell in Germany on particularly receptive soil, and that what may be termed "Baroque-Rococo" is a hybrid, a very beautiful one, characteristic of Germany. It is a task of the criticism of art to distinguish the elements of difference which give a creative character so as to constitute authentic works of art. But that either the Baroque (Italian in derivation) or the Rococo (French in derivation) are "autochthonous"—indigenous, naturally native, to the region—we cannot admit. And in any study of creation, one must consider also "who dragged the murex up?"

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VIRGIL BARKER, *American Painting*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950. 751 pages, 100 plates. \$12.50.

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER, *The Pocket History of American Painting*, New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1950. 117 pages, 52 plates (4 in color). 25 cents.

As the modern age develops and as the complexity of society becomes more obvious, one may ask if geographical characterizations are as important as temporal ones. Depending on the answer, there is, then, a possible historical question as to the fundamental importance of geographical identity in the past. Two recent studies of American painting prompt these questions, which seem reasonable in the asking, because in both books there appear an acknowledgment of cultural qualities which pass national boundaries and an admiration of individual artistic virtues which are taken to be national. Do the individuals who comprise the history of painting in America take their places as individuals in the stream of art generally or do they contribute in common to something that is peculiarly native? What is this native quality? The possession of a common environment? Or a style of painting unlike painting elsewhere? Does the history of art in America reflect only the successive changes in style that mark the pattern of occidental art history? Or does it illustrate the growth of individualities who have been distinctive enough to sway more recent artists at home or even abroad? And in what way? Since the value of any culture lies not only in its continued maturing but also



in its ultimate meaning to others, an answer to such questions seems desirable. Perhaps this country is too young to provide one; at all events, the author of the first work fails of an answer by halting his examination before the end of the nineteenth century; whereas the author of the second informs his readers so briefly that he scarcely has an opportunity to put the questions.

Virgil Barker, the author of the first, has taken pains (twenty years and many traveled miles of pains) to document the activities of painters in America in the light of present-day information and outlook. His effort is neither slight nor to be slighted. If he leaves broad questions of cause and effect unanswered, it is to focus attention more specifically on the topic at hand. The sequel of his study is, as he states, "for another book" and, by implication, so is any other investigation. Taken within the scope he has set himself, he describes the painters of America, their pictures and their attitudes from Colonial beginnings to the accomplishments of Thomas Eakins. His writing is a detailed panorama of what has been. At times the narrative is carried meticulously through the lives of particular painters: Copley, Stuart, Allston, Morse, Ryder; at others, it is a virtual indexing of names to give the sense of multiplicity. The notation of such names makes poor reading but provides a valuable reference, nevertheless, and, one hopes, may lead others to further research. Whereas most treatises on the subject repeat the familiar history of the north-eastern seaboard, this very amplitude allows the reader to become conscious of the parallel development of the south, midwest and southwest. These sectional histories are unified in terms of an overall classification which introduces social history of the Colony and Early Republic in the manner of an aria to relieve the expository recitatif regarding this or that painter. With such an abundance of material, something of the kind is essential but, as with music, one feels a longing at times for more melody.

Nevertheless, if "a history of painting can be only tangentially concerned with the private character of the painters" these tangents provide, now and then, a flat surface for the wheel to roll on and there is a gossipy pleasure in realizing that the father of Jouett "sent Matthew to college to make a gentleman of him and he has turned out to be nothing but a damned sign painter," as there is in knowing that Benjamin West's kindness did much to win him the esteem of his contemporaries or that "complications of wives and debt prevented Irish John Ramage from remaining permanently in this country." Indeed, the reward of much reading of much research is in the purposeful nibbling of these small fruits. To be informed or reminded, as the case may be, that St. Memin anticipated the salesmanship of the modern portrait photographer by persuading his sitters to buy a dozen pantographic reproductions of his drawings; that portions of John Vanderlyn's *Panorama of European Cities* are still to be seen at Kingston, New York (a fact not now noted in the fatiguing waiting room of the local bus terminal); that Rembrandt Peale, as a teacher in the Philadelphia public schools, advocated that "children should not learn

to write until after an elementary course in drawing"; that the popularly unfamiliar nudes of the mid-century that found their way into certain institutions "were not really needed as enticements to vice, but once there they became the most effective means of building up in the collective male mind an almost ineradicable association of ideas between art and wickedness"; that whereas the pre-Raphaelite Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art made preachments against the landscapes of Inness, the latter, in turn, pronounced with equal intolerance that Impressionism is "the original pancake of visual imbecility . . . from the lie of intent to the lie of ignorance"—is to be presented with juicy facts to munch on which make the land outside of Eden rather contenting.

However, the sub-title of this work *History and Interpretation* requires that a fair appraisal of it include mention of the second objective. There are passages in which the use of art as an instrument of understanding history is required reading for the writer of school history texts: the reference to the seventeenth century portraits of the Gibbs' children, for example, the rich existence of which "should modify the long prevalent idea that the New England child was the hapless prisoner of puritan jailers"; or the observation that after the Civil War "the aberrations of taste were so violent that whatever they may have revealed of the state of art, they certainly indicated vitality in the people." But there are others wherein Mr. Barker must have been concentrating too closely on the subject of the traditional flow of American painting to have looked at the facts with objective accuracy. And if the reader is to believe that "the broken color of Impressionism would have made it plain to him (Eakins in Paris) at once that the figure and all other solid forms would lose their cohesion in scintillations of light," he must halt, in retrospect with the author, in 1880, and ignore what the eyes of Renoir and Seurat found in the same source.

The several chapters, "in retrospect," with which this volume is furnished offer an excellent opportunity for orientation which, by admixture with fresh material, is not taken full advantage of and this is, perhaps, the weakest structural quality of the volume. The 700 closely written pages of text are not without excellent illustrations but frequent references to, and analyses of, pictures which are not illustrated make one wish that the publishers might have risked two or three volumes for the sake of visual enlargement. As with all well-compiled works, the bibliography alone is worth the purchase price. And for catalogue and periodical, as well as book references to information that is not collated elsewhere, these pages will be invaluable to any art librarian.

James T. Flexner, the author of the second work, is addressing a different audience. The "pocketbook" format to which his text must conform almost requires a juxtaposition of ideas which, in themselves, provide effective and stimulating contrasts. The swift consideration of Morse, Hicks, and Audubon, for example, reminds the reader more startlingly than possible in an extended study that the 1820's were as busy, diverse,

and confused as every decade has seemed to itself. The style of this small volume is inevitably jumpy but the sentences are simple and the sense of social history, particularly at the beginning, is good. The scope of the book carries it to the present day where it is more objective in detail and less broadly informative than in the opening chapters. The type is clear and a few abrupt statements which might raise an informed reader's brow are as readily available to the layman as the rest, but the chances are that the layman will remember the effect, rather than the fact and the former will do him good. Though the four illustrations in color are more for sales value than education, the black and white pages are well selected and clear enough, in spite of small size, to give a good survey of the principal aspects of painting in this country. If the average citizen wishes to improve on what has probably been an inadequate art education, he may here find a simple beginning. If the junior high school student absorbs the gist of it along with his ordinary study of American history, perhaps he will be ready for the questions asked at the beginning of this review before he is much older.

By both writers the arts are lucidly seen as a functioning element of society during Colonial times; as they approach our own age, this relationship becomes

less clear. It is not impossible that the social isolation of the skilled artist during these later years has in itself been a significant factor in our cultural evolution and that the author of the future will find among the pages of the popular periodical esthetic signs which are closer to the "nearly looking" trait Mr. Barker finds so prevalent in the people of America—find in the evolution of advertising imagery as Mr. Barker finds in the nineteenth century commercial lithograph "not a debasement of something that had been fine, but the appearance of something new which was capable of betterment." Whatever the ultimate findings, these two volumes and others like them provide the basic material upon which understanding is to be constructed and we can but reiterate the sentiments of Nathaniel Ames as Mr. Barker quotes him from his *Almanac of 1758*: "O! Ye unborn Inhabitants of America! Should this Page escape its destin'd Conflagration at the Year's end, and these Alphabetical Letters remain legible, when your Eyes behold the Sun after he has rolled the Seasons round for two or three Centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758 (1951) we dream'd of your Times."

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